

# Race Problem 1920

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### THE AUTHOR OF "DARKWATER."

Burghardt Du Bois, negro leader, whose book "Darkwater" is just from the press, presents the picture of a man railing hopelessly against fate. The fact that he is a professed disbeliever in war; a pacifist, and that he was educated partly in Germany probably has nothing to do with his effort to stir up race feeling, beyond the fact that in Germany his social outlook may have been such that the

East—when he returned to America tended toward his embitterment.

We should not call "Darkwater" a book of deliberate propaganda, but it is the outpouring of a terribly embittered heart. What life can give its author, in such a situation and in such a mood, we cannot see. Booker Washington's sunnier philosophy not only was more helpful to his race than Du Bois' pessimism and protest, but also more helpful to him.

There are enough well educated negroes nowadays for a college man of color to find congenial social connections. Why then should it be a matter of sorrow—a matter for rage—to him that he does not frequent the drawing rooms of another race? If his stated conviction that the negro is the peer of any man is sincere he should not be unhappy in his natural associations. If he lacks conviction he should not expect white men to have in a degree greater than his, the conviction that there should be no special separateness of the races. The spectacle of an educated and intelligent man of any race declaring his race the equal of any on earth and then unburdening his soul of sorrow and anger because of the aloofness of a race other than his own is depressing. As an argument for the "reforms" he desires it is not convincing.

### "DARKWATER."

By W. E. B. DU BOIS.

An unwritten law has existed for a long time, to the effect that the critical estimates which fix the status of a book by a Negro author shall be written by white men. Praise or blame—

the elementary criticism which expresses only the reviewer's feelings in reference to the book—has generally been the sole function of the Negro critic. And the results have not been good. For, in the first place, white critics (except in music) have been too prone to judge the product of a Negro author as Dr. Johnson judged the dancing dog: "It isn't at all like dancing; but then, one shouldn't expect more from a dog." That is why many Negro poets of fifth grade merit are able to marshal eulogiums by the bushel from friendly white critics who ought to know better. On the other side, there is the danger of disparagement arising solely from racial prejudice and the Caucasian refusal to take Negro literary products seriously.

In either case, the work fails to secure consideration solely on its merits. Wherefore, it is high time that competent appraisal of Negro books should come from "our side of the street." But, then, the Negro reading public should be taught what to expect, viz., that criticism is neither "knocking" nor "boosting"; but an attempt, in the first place, to furnish a correct and adequate idea of the scope and literary method of the book under review, of the author's success in realizing his objects, and of the spirit in which he does his work. In the second place the critic should be expected to bring his own understanding of the subject matter of the book to bear upon the problem of enlightening the readers' understanding, that at the end the reader may decide whether the work is worth his particular while.

This book of Dr. Du Bois' is one which challenges the swing of seasoned judgment and appraisal. It challenges also free thinking and plain speaking.

For, at the very outset, we find ourselves forced to demur to the publishers' assumptions as to its author's status. "Even more than the late Booker Washington, Mr. Du Bois is now the chief spokesman of the two hundred men and women of African blood." So say the publishers—or the author. But this is outrageously untrue. Once upon a time Dr. Du Bois held a sort of spiritual primacy among the Talented Tenth, not at all comparable to that of Booker Washington in scope, but vital and compelling for all that. The power of that leadership, however, instead of increasing since Mr. Washington's death, has decreased, and is now openly flouted by the most active and outspoken members of the Talented Tenth in Negro America. And, outside of the twelve or fifteen

millions "of African blood" in the United States, the mass of that race in South and West Africa, Egypt and the Philippines know, unfortunately, very little of Dr. Du Bois. It may be, however, that this is merely a publishers' rhodomontade.

And it is the publishers themselves who challenge for this volume a comparison with "The Souls of Black Folk," which was published by McClurg in 1903. It is regrettable that they should force the issue, for "The Souls of Black Folk" is a greater book than "Darkwater" in many ways. In the first place its high standard of craftsmanship is maintained through every chapter and page. There are no fag-ends, as in the chapter "Of Beauty and Death" in the present volume where the rhetoric bogs down, the author loses the thread of his purpose and goes spilling off into space, spinning a series of incongruous purple patches whose tawdry glitter shows the same reversion to crude barbarism in taste which leads a Florida field-hand to don opal colored trousers, a pink tie, parti-colored shirt and yellow shoes. It is artistically an awful thing, and I trust that the author has sense enough to be ashamed of it.

And, though it may savor of anticlimax, "The Souls of Black Folk" was more artistically "gotten" up—to use the grammar of its author. "Darkwater" is cheaply bound and cheaply printed on paper which is almost down to the level of the Seaside Library. Neither in mechanical nor mental quality does the book of 1920 come up to the level of that of 1903.

Yet, in spite of its many defects, "Darkwater" (with the exception of chapters six, seven, eight and nine) is a book well worth reading. It is a collection of papers written at different times, between 1903 and 1920, and strung loosely on the string of race. One wishes that the author could have included his earlier essay on The Talented Tenth and his address on the aims and ideals of modern education, delivered some twelve years ago to the colored school children of Washington, D. C.

Each paper makes a separate chapter, and each chapter is followed by a rhetorical sprig of symbolism in prose or verse in which the tone-color of the preceding piece is made manifest to the reader. Of these tone-poems in prose and verse, the best are the Credo; A Litany at Atlanta; The Riddle of the Sphinx, and Jesus Christ in Texas. In these the lyrical quality of the author's prose is lifted to high levels. In these elegance does not slop over into turgid declamation and rhetorical claptrap—which has become a common fault of the author's recent prose.

In this, as shown in the editorials

in The Crisis, the first part of book, the work is genuine and its rhetoric rings true. Nevertheless, the sustained artistic swing of "The Souls of Black Folk," which placed that work (as a matter of form and style) on the level of Edgar Saltus' Imperial Purple—this is not attained in "Darkwater."

The book may be said to deal largely with the broad international aspects of the problem of the color line and its reactions on statecraft, welt-politik, international peace and international trade, industry, education and the brotherhood of man. Each chapter, or paper, is devoted to one of these reactions. Then there is a charming autobiographical paper, "The Shadow of Years," which first appeared in the Crisis about three years ago, in which we have the study of a soul by itself. The growth of the author's mind under the bewildering shadow cast by the color line is tragically set forth. I say tragically with deliberation; for what we see here, despite its fine disguise, is the smoldering resentment of a mulatto who finds the beckoning white doors of the world barred on his approach. One senses

the thought that, if they had remained open, the gifted spirit would have entered and made his home within them. Mais, chacun a son gout, and no one has the right to quarrel with the author on that doubtful score.

In the chapter on "The Souls of White Folk" we have a fine piece, not so much of analysis, as of exposition. The author puts his best into it. And yet that best seems to have failed to bite with acid brutality into the essential iron of the white man's soul. For the basic elements of that soul are Hypocrisy, Greed and Cruelty. True, the author brings this out; but he doesn't burn it in. The indictment is presented in terms of an appeal to shocked sensibilities and a moral sense which exists, for the white man, only in print; whereas it might have been made in other terms which come nearer to his self-love. Nevertheless it is unanswerable in its logic.

In "The Hands of Ethiopia," as in "The Souls of White Folk," we catch the stern note of that threat which (disguise it as our journals will), the colored races are making, of an ultimate appeal in terms of color and race to the white man's only God—the God of Armed Force. But the author never reaches the height of that newer thought—an international alliance of Black, Brown and Yellow against the arrogance of White. In "Work and Wealth" and "The Servant in the House" the problems of work and its reward, and the tragedy of that reward, are grippingly set forth in relation to the Negro in America and in the civilized world. "The Ruling of

Men" is followed by three papers of very inferior merit and the book ends with a fantastic short story, "The Comet" which, like "The Coming of John" in "The Souls of Black Folk," suggests that Dr. Du Bois could be a compelling writer of this shorter form of fiction. The touch in this story of incident is light, but arresting.

Dr. Du Bois, in the looseness of phrase current in our time in America, is called a scholar—on what grounds we are not informed. But Dr. Du Bois is not a scholar; his claim to consideration rests upon a different basis, but one no less high. And when the Negro culture of the next century shall assay the products of our own it will seem remarkable that this supreme wizard of words, this splendid literary artist, should have left his own demesne to claim the crown of scholarship. Surely, there is honest credit enough in being what he is, our foremost man of culture. And this "Darkwater," despite its lapses from artistic grace, helps to rivet his claim to that consideration. It is a book which will well repay reading.—H. H.



# LITTLE CAUSE FOR RACE WAR IN AMERICA—COLORED PEOPLE UNDER EQUAL CONDITIONS PROVE AS MORAL AS WHITE PEOPLE

*The Negro World 12-13-*  
**The Colored People Instead of Being a Separate and Inferior Race, Can and Do Become Similarly Advanced as Other Races, Where Similar Physical and Mental Conditions Are Extended to Them.**

By H. H. KINZETT.

Only a few weeks ago the lover of humanity was dismayed beyond measure at reading in the papers particulars of the worst race riots that have disgraced modern civilization. They were not confined to one place, but spread through Chicago, Alabama, Omaha and other places.

It seems the more extraordinary because the American people entered upon a great fratricidal war, where blood flowed like water, and all the resources of that great continent were freely expended in liberating their slaves, whose descendants are treated in such savage fashion, and even at the best of times can hardly call their souls their own.

No doubt public opinion is against such a deplorable state of things, and the perpetrators are deservedly denounced, yet it seems unable to prevent such outrages, for seldom are the lynchers punished, though the law is broken time after time, and brutal murders committed, in the majority of cases without cause.

If the colored man is hated, abhorred and degraded by the whites, is it not logical to assume that he will retaliate at some given opportunity? In short, if he is treated like a slave still, he will be a slave.

Race hatred is peculiar and inexplicable, its origin is rooted in ignorance of one another; the Americans deny the possibility of "white" virtue entering the black race; the Germans hate the Slav, particularly the Poles; they profess to see in the yellow race a menace to the future, or they persecute Jews and Finns; Turks massacre Armenians; and so it goes on, people against people, race against race; war, persecution, extermination. "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." Why it should be so, we but partly know. It is a great mystery.

With regard to this hatred towards colored people on the part of the fomenters of racial strife, there seems little excuse to offer. They have not yet accepted the truth contained in that remarkable sermon that Paul preached at Athens nearly 1900 years ago, in which he stated that God "hath made of one blood all nations of man for to dwell on all the face of the earth," or they would have found no difficulty in accepting a people whose only real fault is a difference of color and temperament.

There are teachers in the United States whose duty it is to mold and direct the American character, who say that no instruction or education can remove the mark of inferiority from the colored man's mind and soul.

In the light of well-authenticated facts, this is nonsense, for instead of being a separate and inferior race, they can, and do, become similarly advanced as other races where similar physical and mental conditions are extended to them.

In spite of their many social disadvantages, consider what the blacks have accomplished. Before the war of liberation, no negro was allowed an education; any person found teaching him was liable to imprisonment, or to be whipped! The effects of this rigor produced in South Carolina alone 200 colored judges who could not read nor write. Their education only extends over 40 years, all the time through great persecution, the burning of their school-houses and churches.

Instead of crushing them, however, this treatment seems to have made them more determined, for in the Howard (colored) University, during its 37 years' work, it has conferred degrees upon 2,000 students, 200 of these being pastors, 700 doctors and 200 lawyers. The only reason why a "white" university is superior is because of its better equipment.

## Clever Colored Women.

There are clever colored women also, who are exercising a wonderfully healthy influence over the more ignorant of their sex, particularly in forming societies where scientific agriculture, with the profitable management of dairies and farm yards are great features.

It is also useless to deny to colored people the creative faculty, for the list of their poets, novelists, savants, engineers and inventors is large. To mention but a few, take Booker Washington, to whom ex-President Taft gave an important government position; P. L. Dunbar (the colored Victor Hugo); Kelly Miller, mathematician; Dr. Blyden, linguist; Du Bois, political writer; S. Coleridge Taylor, a half-breed, his father a native of Sierra Leone, his mother an English woman, a distinguished musician and noted composer of the cantata, "Hiawatha," and other works.

As inventors, let the Patent Office at Washington be a witness, for it holds nearly 500 patents taken out by American colored folk.

On investigation, most of the crimes imputed to the Negro are petty thefts or trivial offenses. As a matter of fact, no educated Negro would steal more than his fellow white man; indeed, in few decades he will have acquired this respect the white race is the more guilty.

As to the more serious aspect of immorality which formed the excuse of the lyncher, who, inflamed by his indignation, feeds his hatred by lynching

ANNISTON ALA EVE STAR

JUNE 23 1920

## Race Troubles North and South Lessons to Negroes

In Birmingham a mob is dispersed by turning the fire hose upon it. In Chicago police reserves are called out and blacks and whites battle in darktown sections of the city, with the result that a number of people are much the worse for the encounter. The Southern outburst is sporadic and soon quelled and the negro who caused it is kept from the mob. In Chicago the unrest is continual and in the recent case negro preachers were roughly treated before being rescued by police. There a large part of the negro population is terrorized and many white people thrown into a state of great uneasiness.

It all goes to show that race riots are not a strictly Southern evil; they occur more frequently in the North than in the South, and in the North the disorders always are worse. The negro is beginning to realize that he is better off in the South in every way than in Chicago or any other Northern city to which large numbers of negroes have been drawn by the lure of equality and high pay. The negroes are learning that it is better for a negro to keep his place down South and stay down South than to chase the shadow of social equality in the North, a thing that never can be, North or South, no matter what extremists may preach.

CHARLOTTE N. C. OBSERVER

APRIL 25, 1920

THE NEGRO WORKER.

The Nation's Business gets down to the truth in the case of the negro and labor unrest when it says that Southern farmers, in the mass, have not yet realized the size of the bill that ignorant and shiftless labor yearly forces them to pay. They take it as they find it, regarding it as a tool, shaped and finished, however poor. It should be regarded as a force, capable of new developments and applications. North or South, the industrial leaders of the country are more and more thinking of their employes in human rather than racial terms: Slav, Italian or negro, owner and worker must prosper together.

As a race, when let alone, the negro is loyal to his employer; but like other ignorant folk, he is credulous, easily deceived, and susceptible of being led. With proper leadership he can be relied on to go far; how far, only future centuries can show. The ignorant negro leader, on the other hand, is a dangerous person, because his very ignorance makes him and his followers tools. This fact has been clearly demonstrated in the last few years, and the contrast is marked between those sections where uneducated leaders dominate the race and where leaders are men who have received college training. Not only do the business men of the South realize the necessity for educated leadership, but the thoughtful men among the negroes themselves are most anxious to have trained and enlightened leaders.

—Toronto (Ontario) Sunday

World.

November 30.



## BLAMING IT ON THE NEGRO

We have from time to time called attention to the great injustice which the American press does the Negro. In Sharon Hill, a suburb of Philadelphia, some days ago a young white man was killed. The papers came out the next day declaring that he was killed by three Negro bandits, and as a consequence several hundred people of the vicinity were scouring the surrounding country in order to catch these Negro bandits, who had killed one of their neighbors. The crime was played up in large type by nearly every paper in the city. After a week, however, it leaked out that no one thought that the murderer of this man was a Negro, that the rumor was merely put out by some one perhaps in order to let the real murderer escape. While the hundreds of friends were searching for the colored bandit, the real white murderer had plenty of time to escape.

This has happened too often in the city of Philadelphia and in the country at large and the sense of decency if not sense of justice ought to be strong enough among the newspapers and the public authorities to keep them from putting such unjust charges upon the colored people. We called attention sometime ago to a young boy who had been drowned in Atlantic City and his mother said that a Negro had kidnapped him. For days and days the country was scoured for the Negro kidnapper. In the end, however, the mother confessed that she herself drowned her own son, and sought to hide her crime by blaming it on a Negro.

In the city of Philadelphia, one of the leading business men was killed a few years ago and the poor Negro was arrested for it. The police Department put it out that a Negro had killed this white man when the Police Department itself knew that it was not telling the truth. But it shielded the white criminal while it was blaming it on the Negro.

If it were only the particular Negro who is so unjustly arrested and sometimes convicted, who is hurt, there would be just cause to complain, but he is not the only one hurt. When the news goes out blaming the Negro for the kidnapping and possible murder of a small boy, or the murder of a prosperous business man, nearly every Negro in the community is put under suspicion. Because of race prejudice the minds of thousands of white people are inflamed against the race, and hundreds of innocent Negroes suffer indignities, riots and murders of innocent colored people are encouraged, and the racial situation becomes more tense.

We who have lived in the South have long known that thousands of wealthy white people have been shielded by blaming their crimes on the Negro. Many a case of rape for which a Negro has been hanged, was merely where a white neighbor's girl, or where two young white people were caught in indiscretion and a Negro had to pay for the crime with his life.

There are thousands of colored men in prison and scores in heaven who were sent there for white men's crimes.

In the North we can speak out, and challenge the truth of the accusation. In the South we dare not. When the wealthy white man, Yarnall, was killed in Philadelphia and his wife and all accused a Negro, and the Negro was arrested and identified, this Negro would have gone to the electric chair or the gallows had he lived in Georgia, for there would hardly have been any white lawyer who would have taken his case under the circumstances and the colored lawyer dare not.

The injustice of this situation, however, seems to escape the conscience of this and other communities.

# Resolutions of the Convention of the Friends of Negro Freedom

*Messenger 9/20*  
FOREWORD

**W**E wish to call to the attention of the country that in America, the term "Negro Problem" is a misnomer. No oppressed race within a national group has yet been able per se to make itself a problem.

The problem that has been occasioned by the presence of the Negro is only incidentally a race problem, but fundamentally, an economic problem. The Irish problem is not the problem of the Irish race, but simply the labor problem of Ireland. The Hindoo problem is not the problem of the Indian races, but fundamentally the Indo-British-Labor Problem. Strictly speaking, the so-called Negro problem is the result of the white capitalist exploiting Negro labor on the one hand, and the white laborer fighting his Negro fellow laborer for the too limited supply of jobs.

## (A) Economic:

Ninety-five per cent of Negroes are working people, who earn their living by labor power. They constitute a large part of the creative workers of America. One-tenth of the railway workers, one-third of the workers in the steel and iron industry, forty per cent of the organized coal miners, fifty per cent of the workers in the packing industries are found in their ranks. In fact, they constitute one-seventh of the industrial population of America, and while they form only one-third of the population of the South, according to Albert Bushnell Hart, they produce three-fifths of its wealth.

Within a few years, they bid fair to count far more largely in labor, as the result of the trend of emigration back to Europe. Ex-Director of Public Safety, Lee, reports that in the cities of Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo, ninety thousand Poles, not counting other races, have already engaged bookings to return to Europe. Frederick C. Howe, former Commissioner of Emigration at the Port of New York, states that between four and seven millions of foreigners have engaged or are seeking bookings to return to Europe in the next year and a half. When war was declared, withdrawing from production three and a half million workers, a tremendous migration of Negroes Northward and Westward resulted. The imminent migration to Europe of four to seven million of foreigners will create an unprecedent labor vacuum, and stimulate to a very much larger extent, the migration of Negroes to industrial centers. That these may, with the least possible friction, be adjusted to their new environment, to the best advantage of them and their class, there is the necessity of their being unionized.

## (B) High Cost of Living:

Just as most Negroes work for wages for a living,

### 1. Housing:

most of them have to rent houses to live. The

migration to the industrial centers, created by the labor vacuum, and steadily increasing, makes acute the problem of the supply in housing.

### Meeting the Demand:

This problem is further accentuated by the crystallized law of segregation, limiting the option of Negroes on houses to certain locations known as Negro Districts.

Having poorly organized and limited political power, the Negro finds his houses neglected by the Municipal Government, resulting in poor lighting, filthy streets, low or no sewerage, and bad sanitation—for which he pays the highest rents. To eliminate these evils, we urge the formation of tenants' leagues, on the one hand, and heavy taxation on unimproved urban land, on the other, as a means of forcing such lands into use by driving the owners to build. Thereby, there is provided an increase of houses.

The Tenants' League, by organizing rent strikes, will require owners to give better service, also to reduce rents. Not only is there a limited supply in the housing of Negroes, but the character of available houses is very undesirable. We, therefore, urge upon municipalities a program for the erection of adequate housing at reasonable rentals.

### 2. Consumption.

At the present time, Negro workers are receiving larger money incomes than ever before. The purchasing power of the dollar, however, determines all real wages. The dollar today is worth approximately thirty cents of its normal purchasing power in 1914. The cost of food, fuel, clothing, transportation and shelter determines the value of one's wages. How can the price of these commodities be reduced?

European countries have successfully solved this problem by the development of the cooperative method. Denmark, Russia, France, England, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland have developed cooperation in both consumption and production. It is the one social remedy that did not fail during the war. Instead it advanced on a large scale. Cooperation may be organized by city blocks, department houses, church congregations, fraternal societies, and, in rural districts, by counties or convenient sections. The cooperative, by eliminating the middle man, enables the producer, whether farmer or industrial worker, to

*In complete*



## Our Leaders Must Be Of Our Own Selection

In an Editorial which appeared in the Macon Telegraph July 17, our esteemed contemporary undertakes to tell us who shall be our leaders. Among other things it says:

"A week or so ago we accorded to Johnson, in a large measure at least, the right of leadership of his people in Georgia. We do not any longer recognize him in any such capacity. We do not in the least connect with him the Negroes of Georgia. He has outlawed himself in the eyes of Georgia white people, and for his race in this state to ever again follow under his banner, would be a most harmful thing for them to do, a suicidal step, that levelheaded Negroes will never take."

If there ever was a case of pure dictation as to who shall be our leaders this is one. According to the dictum of the Telegraph, the Negroes in the South must go to his white neighbors before they select a leader; in other words, our leaders must be selected by others rather than make our own selection.

This goes to the limit and proves what we said in the columns of this paper, July 3, under the caption, "A SUBJECT RACE IN THIS COUNTRY UNTHINKABLE." Among other things we said: "The unmistakable signs of the time, point to an attempt on the part of the South to have a subject people in this country. The sentiment has been entertained for, lo, these many years, but it has taken on new impetus here of late, specially during the pending Political Campaign. The entire Southern press is speaking out more boldly, under the guise of 'White Supremacy.' This dictum of the Macon Telegraph proves that we were right beyond the shadow of a doubt."

If our white neighbors are to select our leaders, and tell us who shall and who shall not lead us, then we are serfs and slaves, and only free American citizens in name. The destiny of any people is in the hands of its leaders, and if other people are allowed to select our leaders, then our future destiny is in their hands and we are no more than clay in the potter's hands.

This is a relic of slavery and shows that our esteemed contemporary the Macon Telegraph, entertains much of the same view that one might have expected, sixty years ago, when Negroes were slaves, and were compelled to go to their masters to tell them what to do—and when they went to church, the preachers promulgated from the pulpits, "Servants, obey your masters." This is what the Macon Telegraph would preach today after 54 years of Emancipation. It still holds to the old exploded doctrine handed down by Chief Justice Taney in the famous Dred Scott Decision that "Black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect." Our esteemed contemporary would still insist upon that pernicious doctrine. It forgets the marvelous progress the Negro has made—materially, spiritually and morally. It forgets that he has become an American citizen clothed with all the rights of an American citizen, by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution. It forgets that no group of American citizens in all this broad land has been more loyal to the flag, than the men whom it would dictate to in selecting their leaders.

In the late World War, who was more loyal and patriotic than black men and women? Who responded more willingly to offer up their lives upon the altar of the country than black men? In his speech of acceptance Governor Calvin Coolidge of Mass. said:

"There is especially due to the Colored race a more general recognition of their constitutional rights. Tempted with disloyalty, they remain loyal serving in the military forces with distinction, obedient to the draft to the extent of hundreds of thousands, investing \$1.00 out of every \$5.00 they possess in Liberty Bonds; surely they hold the double title of citizenship, by birth and by conquest, to be defended from lynching, and to be freely granted equal opportunities."

This is the sentiment of one of the great men of the country, who is now one of the nominees for Vice President of the United States. This shows what the enlightened consensus of opinion is concerning black men and women in striking contrast to the Archaic and narrow view held by the Macon Telegraph. The Telegraph seems to want to quarrel with the all wise Creator Himself. It would upbraid the Creator for giving black men minds and faculties to think like other people. It would blame Him for giving the Colored men ambition like other men. It would say to the all-wise Creator—"You did not know what you were doing when you made the Negro. You should not have given him a mind capable of the highest development, ambition and aspiration like other men made in your image. You should have made him a jackass incapable of improvement and with no ambition save to serve the white man. You should have made him in such fashion that he would not have aspired to self-determination and a desire for self-government. You should have made him such that he would have been content to serve the white man without murmuring or repining."

So far as the twelve million people in this country, they have no quarrel with God for the way in which he made them, for they know that he is no respecter of persons, and will mete out love and justice to all His children alike without regard to race. These twelve million men and women know

that color and skin is no test, but character and ability—and these are not found in white people alone, but in all races.

It is most gratifying to the Independent to know that only a small minority of the white people of this country share the view of the Macon Telegraph as regards the Negro. The progress he has made in the last fifty years against fearful odds, the service he has rendered this country,

**THE GUMPS**  
SIDNEY SMITH, whose cartoons, "The Gumps," appears daily in the Chicago Tribune, is a philosopher and a keen reader of human nature. His puppets, Min and Andy, are made to discuss vital issues of the day and drive home pictorially as well as by words the salient facts of every subject treated. In the issue of June 25, under the caption, "A Champion of Lions," the subject matter by a slight stretch of the imagination could easily be construed to fit the race situation here in America.

MIN, READING THE PAPER, remarks, "I see in the paper here where a lion killed a trainer. They're vicious animals—they ought to kill them all—you can't trust them." Andy replies, "Vicious? I suppose that lion left his jungle home in Africa, swam the ocean and applied for a job in that circus. He walked right in the cage and said, 'Whip me, make me look ferocious.' Just remember that he didn't pick this home out for himself, and he didn't send out any invitations for a guy to come in his cage, shoot a gun in his face, crack a whip. It takes a lot of patience to train an animal (for the animal). They do everything in the world to make 'em look and act wild, and they expect him to be deceitful. When he acts like he looks, they blame him for it."

MIN TYPIFIES the thoughtless, irresponsible, prejudiced group who are ever fomenting trouble. Andy the cool, conservative, impartial, law-abiding citizens under whose guidance alone these United States have kept united and have prospered. Viewpoint is everything. There are those who believe the Negro could and should be exterminated the same as has been the Indian. Min fails to get the viewpoint of the lion. The animal killed its trainer; therefore, all lions are bad and ought to be killed. The inference evidently intended to be drawn is that the Colored American typifies the lion. This is accurate only in a limited sense. Unlike the lion, the Colored American is not ferocious and is not dangerous only to the extent of necessary protection when unjustly treated and imposed upon. Unlike the lion, he is assimilable and, therefore, typifies within himself all that the white American represents and stands for, including the white man's customs, civilization, language and religion. He draws the line only in social matters, and in this he finds it difficult, especially in the southern states, to prevent the white American from encroaching upon him.

ANDY MIGHT WELL HAVE SAID it takes a lot of patience to be a dark-skinned American. If we do not "look and act wild" it is not because we lack provocation. It is well for some people to remember that we didn't swim across the ocean and beg them to enslave and mistreat us. It is also well for them to remember that the American Black man has been directly under their tutelage for centuries. For his status today they, and they alone, are directly responsible. "The Gumps," in addition to furnishing amusement to Tribune readers, carry messages of light into dark and warped recesses found in the minds of many Americans. Long live "The Gumps."

**NEW YORK CITY GLOBE**  
JUNE 26, 1920  
**Negroes as Fellowmen.**

Editor Globe:—The brief protests of your correspondents, in respect to the imputations embodied in the letter of Cleanthis D. Zonares seem to me quite too mild to fit the offense of that correspondent.

The suggestion he makes that the use of Negro troops to garrison the German towns was an act of revenge, an intended miscegenation of the races, is an insult alike to the character of the noble patriotic French race and that of the Negro race. How many Negro families have we in New York City? And is there a like percentage of any other race that is more orderly and law-abiding? When I was a boy I attended Sunday school in a Wesleyan Methodist Church, over the portal of which was a marble tablet bearing the sacred words, "God is no respecter of persons." And the Negro families who three-quarters of a century ago were welcomed there as fellowmen seemed in every way as human as we of lighter skin.

Much later in life I attended a church meeting of which the last exercise was a general discussion by the audience,

Toward the last a speaker arose behind me whom I heard, but did not see. The voice was one of remarkably sympathetic quality, the mind showed intelligence and command of the subject. Politeness denied me the rudeness of turning abruptly to face the speaker, but near the last I managed to turn quarteringly, permitting a quick glance backward. The fact that I received was a severe one, for, to my extreme surprise, I learned that I had been listening to a black man! This much should be said by some one of two honorable races. The black subjects of the French have found them friends and helpers, and the black man in the military service of France is no more out of place anywhere than is the black man in the armies of the United States. GEORGE W. DITHRIDGE, Hollis, L. I., June 12.

Race Problem—1920—U.S. General Analysis.



# **Negro Americanization.**

WHITE PLAINS (N. Y.) JOURNAL.

JUNE 28, 1920

**A**CCORDING to a speaker at a recent social service conference in North Carolina, white citizens in this country have followed four lines in facing the race problem. Her summary of those four methods is not flattering to the fairness or forward vision of the race that likes to think itself as superior to all the colored races.

The first method is extermination. Only a few whites consider this a satisfactory method of dealing with a great problem. But the fact remains that there are still lynchings and burnings of negroes in this country, in the north quite as much as in the south, and of innocent negroes as well as of guilty ones.

The second method is deportation. There are many advocates, among both whites and blacks, of the return of all negroes to Africa. But there is no assurance that this would work. It seems to be impracticable no matter how it is looked at. In the first place, most negroes want to stay here, and in the second place, the white man does not want them to go.

The third "method" is called so only by courtesy. It is indifference and neglect, and is the policy pursued by the great majority of whites. It is the easiest way, of course, requiring little or no thinking and only an occasional expression of sympathy for the oppressed race or of concern for the governing whites. It solves no problems, and by its passiveness permits injustice and outrage to go on unchecked.

The fourth method is Americanization. The term is not wholly satisfactory. It includes a great deal not at first apparent. It means education of the whole community—whites as well as black—in love of country, obedience to its laws, good citizenship, fair play to all. It calls for better education for negroes, with their schools as well equipped and efficiently administered as the schools for white children. It means justice in the courts—which is too often denied the negro actually, although granted theoretically. It means economic justice, wholesome and decent living conditions in cities everywhere.

Perhaps the problem is one we shall never wholly solve. But certainly an honest attempt at solution along the lines suggested in the fourth method would do much to decrease its greatest evil and to make less bitter and hopeless the negro's outlook on life.

## **FOUR WAYS WITH THE NEGRO**

Survey 6/19/20

**A**T the North Carolina Conference for Social Service at Goldsboro a white clubwoman on the one hand and a Negro business man on the other contributed to a notable discussion of the race problem. Dr. A. M. Moore's address has already been published in the SURVEY for May 15. Clara I. Cox, chairman of the Americanization Committee of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, grouped the various methods which have been suggested as solutions of the race problem under three main heads, and added her own suggestion:

First, extermination. Only a few ignorant white people of the lowest type have such feelings toward the Negro. They are the class that incite mobs to violence and engage in lynchings.

The second method is that of deportation, or return to Africa. This plan has been advocated by both whites and blacks, but with little success. Struggling Liberia is one result of this experiment. It is not practicable and has few advocates. The Negro is here to stay, not only because he wants to stay, but because the white man wants him.

The third method is that of indifference and neglect. This is the attitude of most white people toward the Negro question. They are apparently willing to allow the problem to solve itself, as though any problem ever did that. Such people wish the Negro well. They complain of poor service from him, are distressed somewhat at lynchings and deplore the migration of the Negro to northern states. Their interest apparently ends with these considerations. They have never taken the trouble to investigate.

The methods of extermination, deportation and neglect having failed, suppose we try the method of Americanization. Let us note some ways by which we may hope to Americanize the Negro. It is not enough to exhort him to love this country, to obey its laws and to be good citizens. We must give him good reasons therefore. We must investigate his complaints and remove obstacles in the way of mutual confidence. As a foundation for the Americanization of the Negro, there must be a sympathetic understanding of the Negro's view-point. We should strive to understand something of the difficulties along the road the Negro has traveled.

Whether the term Americanization is the happiest to employ in this connection will be sharply questioned by many, unless it is employed as a two-edged sword and applied to the community as a whole. Bringing the discussion down to practical steps to be taken, Miss Cox advocated a reform school for colored boys—to supplement the creditable work done by a number of Negro leaders who are acting as probation officers, and second, the organization of local and county committees of white people and Negroes for the consideration of inter-racial welfare.

Scientific literature was drawn on by the speaker to show the tremendous telescoping of economic and social development in the life of the African race. Our ancestors 4,000 years ago sewed with thorns. The Negro in South Africa jumps from thorns to machines in a single life-time. Measured against the long span of Caucasian evolution the experience of our southern Negroes is almost as rapid. With this supreme demand upon a people for readjustment to the facts of everyday life must be coupled the slowness and friction with which civil and social institutions adjust themselves to the needs of the same people. Many Negroes, for example, are allowed to suffer because there are no accommodations for them in hospitals. Dr. John H. Reynolds, president of Hendrix College, recently made similar points in an address before the Teachers' Association of Arkansas. He said:

In the first place, the Negro says that he does not get justice in the courts; that if the controversy is between a Negro and a white man, the poor Negro has no chance. He further says that he lives in constant dread of mob laws; that when the mob spirit is aroused the innocent Negro is about as liable to be strung up as the guilty. The fact is that there is justice in this complaint, and we should do everything possible to create a sentiment for giving the Negro a square deal.

The Negro moreover says that he does not get economic justice—that the planter and the credit merchant take advantage of his ignorance and exploit him. He says that they keep him in debt whether he makes good or bad crops and that many merchants never furnish him statements of his accounts. There is doubtless truth in this complaint. (I am happy to say that this condition does not prevail in North Carolina to any extent.)

The Negro furthermore complains that in our cities and towns his housing conditions are poor and unsanitary and that no provision is made for parks and other means of recreation for the colored people. Investigation is not needed to convince one that this complaint is just. A survey of Negro quarters would probably astonish us by the revolting conditions which it would reveal. The Negro is in part responsible for this, yet the initiative must come from the white man. The present conditions are a menace to the health of millions of whites in the South. (Probably no class of our people suffer so greatly from poor housing conditions as the Negro.)

The Negro claims that he does not get a square deal in provision for schools. He points out that the trustees build good buildings for the white children, but mere shacks for the Negroes and that they pay small salaries to Negro teachers and good salaries to white teachers. That there is justice in this charge no one will deny. School men should take hold of this problem and bring it forcefully to the attention of citizens generally.

**ATTORNEY J. VANCE LEWIS OF HOUSTON**

Special to The Houston Informer. 5-22-20.

On May 2nd J. Vance Lewis, the way what it costs his race for one hero of the twentieth century, delivered an address known as his master-crime, and on the other hand he showed a piece on the courthouse square in the white man what it cost his Monroe, La., using as his subject, "How to Settle the Unrest of the South Between the Two Races." More than three thousand white and colored heard him. A platform had been prepared in front of the courthouse building, and he was standing under the shade of three oaks where three members of his race had been previously lynched, and knowing this to be the fact, yet he did not falter and he began his address by saying: "Mayor of the city, judges of the courts, ladies and gentlemen of both races, I am happy to be here to discuss for you and your edification this all important subject which is giving us so much unrest throughout the South. If you love the truth, you can stand hitched until I can bring such facts to you that will cause the rapist never more to rape, and the lyncher never to lynch another man. I think that both races have a misconception of God's intention when He made man, and again the white man has a misconception of the constitution as it is written for all men, and if they did not they would both be willing to give each a fair and square deal. Since God created Heaven and earth for all men, I can not see for the life of me why one set of men should desire to enjoy a greater privilege than the other.

The unrest in the South is caused from the fact that one race of men wish to be stamped with superiority while they stamp others with inferiority, and again one set wishes to have and hold all while others have nothing. Today is a day of reasoning, and you two races just as well to consider that God did not use inferior matter in the creation of one and superior material in the other, but out of one

blood God made all men to dwell together upon the face of the earth."

He went on to show in a masterly way what it costs his race for one hero of the twentieth century, delivered an address known as his master-crime, and on the other hand he showed a piece on the courthouse square in the white man what it cost his Monroe, La., using as his subject, "How to Settle the Unrest of the South Between the Two Races." More than three thousand white and colored heard him. A platform had been prepared in front of the courthouse building, and he was standing under the shade of three oaks where three members of his race had been previously lynched, and knowing this to be the fact, yet he did not falter and he began his address by saying: "Mayor of the city, judges of the courts, ladies and gentlemen of both races, I am happy to be here to discuss for you and your edification this all important subject which is giving us so much unrest throughout the South. If you love the truth, you can stand hitched until I can bring such facts to you that will cause the rapist never more to rape, and the lyncher never to lynch another man. I think that both races have a misconception of God's intention when He made man, and again the white man has a misconception of the constitution as it is written for all men, and if they did not they would both be willing to give each a fair and square deal. Since God created Heaven and earth for all men, I can not see for the life of me why one set of men should desire to enjoy a greater privilege than the other.

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## General Analysis.

# Fair Play for the Negro

N.Y.C. CALL

DECEMBER 12, 1920.

**T**HE Nineteenth Amendment has brought the ever-present race problem to the forefront again, since it also enfranchises Negro women. One hears discussion on all sides as to what far-reaching consequences this will have in the destinies of the two races, and in truth, the "Negro question" is probably the biggest problem America has to face in a day of big problems.

Being Northern born and reared, but of Southern parentage, I stand on neutral ground in the matter, and am, therefore, perhaps able to consider it more impersonally than many. And it certainly has to be considered. We realize more than ever after reading such a book as Lothrop Stoddard's "The Rising Tide of Color (Against White World Supremacy)," which presents the issue in such a way that all thinking whites must ponder it. I do not pretend to offer the solution—who could?—though the committees lately organized in Asheville, N. C., and elsewhere to promote better relations between whites and blacks constitute one of the steps in the right direction.

Lest some assume that I have only the Yankee's viewpoint, let me say that I have lived in the South also, and know it intimately, from the coast to the Mississippi, from Maryland to the Florida Everglades. And I love the South. It is for that reason that I regret its shortcomings. One is indifferent to the faults of those for whom one does not care.

I understand in what a peculiarly difficult position the Southern people are placed with regard to the Negro. "Give him an inch and he wants a mile." I have no sentimental delusions about him. I know all of his exasperating qualities—his igno-

rance, his bumptiousness, his ir- day... were greeted with scowls rough voices and insulting demeanors. They were made to read and even to explain long passages from the constitutions and from various civil and criminal codes, although there is no law requiring such an inquisition. . . . The registrars were assisted by a lawyer, apparently for the special business of quizzing, cross-questioning and harassing the colored women, in the manner of opposing counsel in court. He asked questions about all sorts of things from all sorts of documents—questions which he could not himself answer and about which lawyers wrangle every day in court. It was the evident purpose to send back to the colored population so discouraging a report that others would not even try to register. . . . Some of the questions actually put to the inexperienced colored applicant were: 'Explain a mandamus.' 'Define civil code.' 'How would you appeal a case?' 'If presidential votes are tied, how would you break the tie?' . . . South Carolina law requires only that one shall read, and not the passing of any examination in law or civil government." If such tactics had been adopted in registering the colored man, up to red shirt, 'Ku Klux' campaigns and less picturesque, but equally forceful, terrorism. In some districts a colored man seals his death warrant by even attempting to register." I quote from an article in the Nation for October 6, entitled "The Woman Voter Hits the Color Line." As it deals with a very important example of the sort of unfairness which I have in mind. I should like to quote a few more paragraphs from it.

## An Inquisition at the Polls.

"Below Mason and Dixon's line, . . . the colored man has been cheated out of nine-tenth of his votes. . . . Every method (to prevent his voting) has been employed against the colored man, up to red shirt, 'Ku Klux' campaigns and less picturesque, but equally forceful, terrorism. In some districts a colored man seals his death warrant by even attempting to register." I quote from an article in the Nation for October 6, entitled "The Woman Voter Hits the Color Line." As it deals with a very important example of the sort of unfairness which I have in mind. I should like to quote a few more paragraphs from it.

In Columbia, S. C., whose Negro inhabitants number about one-third of the population, although white women were registered "without test or question throughout the registration, colored women after the first

day . . . were greeted with scowls rough voices and insulting demeanors. They were made to read and even to explain long passages from the constitutions and from various civil and criminal codes, although there is no law requiring such an inquisition. . . . The registrars were assisted by a lawyer, apparently for the special business of quizzing, cross-questioning and harassing the colored women, in the manner of opposing counsel in court. He asked questions about all sorts of things from all sorts of documents—questions which he could not himself answer and about which lawyers wrangle every day in court. It was the evident purpose to send back to the colored population so discouraging a report that others would not even try to register. . . . Some of the questions actually put to the inexperienced colored applicant were: 'Explain a mandamus.' 'Define civil code.' 'How would you appeal a case?' 'If presidential votes are tied, how would you break the tie?' . . . South Carolina law requires only that one shall read, and not the passing of any examination in law or civil government." If such tactics had been adopted in registering the colored man, up to red shirt, 'Ku Klux' campaigns and less picturesque, but equally forceful, terrorism. In some districts a colored man seals his death warrant by even attempting to register." I quote from an article in the Nation for October 6, entitled "The Woman Voter Hits the Color Line." As it deals with a very important example of the sort of unfairness which I have in mind. I should like to quote a few more paragraphs from it.

the right to register, as being insufficiently educated. . . . According to the press, many colored women in Richmond have been denied their right to registration in the same manner, and there are similar reports from other localities. . . . The methods have included every means of trickery and brutality from vague statutes to shot-guns." Can't they see that this is the surest way in the world to foster antagonism and hatred in the breasts of its Negro population? Apparently not. I submitted this article to a South-ern paper which has frequently published my opinions—sometimes quite "radical"—on topics of the day, but the editor decided that it would be more "politic" to remain silent on this matter.

## Know They Are Being Oppressed.

The Negroes are a simple lot; they do not reason beyond the obvious fact that they are being oppressed; you can expect very few of them to take the deliberative attitude of James Dudley (President of the Greensboro, N. C., Agricultural and Technical College for Negroes) that "it is not necessary nor expedient" for them to vote at present. They are like children; they want to do whatever they see others doing. Certainly there should be an "educational qualification" of considerable rigidity to determine any citizen's fitness to vote; but it should be a fact, and not a farce and a pretext, as it is now. Who (white or black) would not resent the presumption of the many ignoramuses in public offices who at present sit in judgment on one's qualifications? And the vote of the intelligent Negro (there are so few) could do less harm, it seems to me, than the countless votes of incompetent whites who, though often as hopelessly illiterate as the blacks, are permitted to "get by."

## Many Lynched on Suspicion.

Let none imagine that I'm defending the Negro who commits "the usual crime" (although looking at it dispassionately, his animalism is a natural factor of which he is more a victim than a coercive agent), and the psychological force of the white man's argument, "You feel differently when it comes home to you," is undeniable. But one continually learns of cases where the wrong Negro was strung up, or two or three were lynched on suspicion, or even, when the guilty one could not be found, one of his companions was seized "to make a Roman holiday," apparently on no better principle than that "birds of a feather flock together." When the bars of "law

While discussing "fair play" for the Negro, I want to touch upon another matter, and that is the "lynch

(over)



and order" are once down, there is no limit to the violence of a passion of the average Negro, but it will crazed crowd, and mob rule is never right—never thinking. Recollect "Stephen More's" denunciation of today.

"the mob" in Galsworthy's tragedy. In "The Voice of the Negro," by of that name: "You are the thing that pelts the weak. . . . This to-day and that tomorrow. Brain—you have none. Spirit—not the ghost of it! If you're not meanness, there's no such thing. If you're not cowardice, there is no cowardice." A excellent book is Herbert Seligmann's "The Negro Faces America." In this book the author presents his findings on the Negro question after impartial first-hand investigation cannot resist the temptation to quote here from some verse of Strickland Gillilan; it is so apropos:

"If but that grim Thing swaying in the wind  
Meant that our men had so in tendresse grown,  
Had left brutality so far behind

That they could not for one brief instant brook  
The bestial in their fallen fellow-man;  
If but that sight at which we dare not look  
Could bring a cheering message that outran

The horror of it all—but it cannot!  
The mob is moved by nothing fine or just;

Behind a mask of 'justice' sounds its snarl—

With basest passions see its faces gnarl!  
And in the shameful consummating act  
What thought is in those hearts of wrong or right?  
They are obsessed by one low, shameless fact—

This poor, mean Thing must yield before their might!"

Let the law deal with the offender, whatever his offense; if we cannot be content with its unimpassioned decree, it is proof positive that we are not really seeking justice, but are only moved by the base impulse of blood-lust.

#### Books on Negro Question.

I have asked you to consider the Negro's "side." May I, in conclusion, recommend for your perusal a few books which will give it to you much more fully and significantly than I can here? "The Souls of Black Folk" and "Darkwater," both by a Negro, W. E. Burghardt DuBois, contain much that is vital and true. DuBois is undoubtedly a very exceptional Negro, and his point of view cannot be taken as at all representative of the mental processes

can spirit of fairness and justice demands."

The editor then adds:

"His words are an eloquent endorsement of the spirit and letter of the Beatty bill, the purpose of which was to insure to the Colored people their civil rights by imposing heavy penalties upon those who would deny them these rights. In other words they would have the right to choose the hotel at which they might stop, the theatre which they might attend, or the place of amusement and recreation to which they might go, with no questions asked and no insults offered. The Beatty bill provides penalties of \$100 to \$500 fine, and thirty to ninety days imprisonment, or both, within the discretion of the court.

#### ADVOCATE OF

#### RACE EQUALITY

ADAIRVILLE KY. ENTERPRISE  
OCTOBER 21, 1920

The "Toledo Pioneer," a negro journal in Toledo, Ohio, is urging all negroes to vote for Harding on the theory that Harding stands for race equality. This negro editor says the colored men and women will be privileged to go where they please without questions asked or insults being offered.

After discussing the Beatty Bill, which was defeated in the last Session of the Ohio Legislature, he quotes Senator Harding as follows:

"I believe the Negro citizens of America should be guaranteed the full enjoyment of all their rights, that they have earned the full measure of citizenship bestowed, that their sacrifices in blood on the battlefields of the republic have entitled them to all freedom and opportunity, all of the sympathy and aid that the Ameri-

The Beatty bill would prohibit the following places from barring negroes: Hotels, restaurants, stores, parks, ice cream parlors, confectionaries, soda fountains, clinics, hospitals, race course, music halls, skating rinks, fairs, gymnasiums, billard parlors, public libraries, garages, kindergartens, schools and colleges of all kinds, garages and all public conveyances operated on land or water as well as the stations and terminals thereof.

This negro editor says that Harding eloquently endorses this bill. If this be true, and there seems to be but little doubt of it, a terrible menace faces the good women of Kentucky, and the nation.

Once before—back in 1864—the South faced the menace of race equality and the accompanying conditions, more terrible to Southerners than any possible calamity. Much has been said and written of the

bravery of Southern women in that dark period; how they worked far into the night sewing the red emblem of the Ku Klux on white robes, how they cast off their dependance on a servant class and worked in the fields to reconstruct a Southern civilization. This civilization again threatened with destruction by the same means, and more completely than before, its salvation lies in the hands of Southern woman. The women of this county who believe in a white man's government and who revere the traditions of the South based as they are on conditions no outsider understands, must feel it a sacred duty to go to the polls on the second of November and cast her vote for Democracy.

#### WHITE SPIRITUALISTS

#### AND BLACK VOODOOISTS

The craze among white persons to penetrate the mysteries of the spirit influences that are present in the life of all mankind, and show their presence in different ways, depending largely upon time and place and race, has never been more pronounced than at the present time, both in Europe and America. The most scientific men and women of the white races are devoting themselves to occultation, some of them going crazy following the vagaries of the Ouija Board and mediums who sit in the shadows and palmists and astrologists, and the like.

They admit that they haven't found out much, and when they are cornered for some sign that will not lie about it they run away, as Sir

Oliver Lodge did, after two appearances at the Academy of Music, in Philadelphia, and he is rated as one of the most accomplished scientists of the age.

The man who is manufacturing Ouija Boards is building a \$150,000 addition to his factory, and believes he has exclusive patent rights.

Arthur Brisbane quotes Dr. Wallace in the New York American, as authority for the statement that the Ouija has been revered in Thibet as an institution for two thousand years, and that he believes that spirits can be photographed. Mr. Brisbane says: "But many spiritualists are sincere, men and women, including mediums, sincerity being the first element of success in all professions. Among African witch doctors the most prosperous really believe that they can bring rain or tell who bewitched the chief when he has stomach ache from over-eating."

The New England Puritans, the flower of American erudition, culture and piety, used to believe in spirit and hang and brand their witches. A few years ago the people of Kansas, who were beset by a lack of rain fall, believed that they could draw water from heaven by thunderous explosions of one kind and another that made a great noise. The white race have their witch beliefs the same as the off-color races, but they call them by more refined and scientific names than "Voodooism," which they say the dark races have a monopoly of but, whatever it may be called, it reads "superstition, doubt of what is and desire to get at the mystery of it." The superstition affects all races and tribes, the most intelligent and cultured being as ignorant and inquisitive as the most unlettered and crude.

We should all be better off if those who think they are the whole "It" would reduce their pretensions in matters about which all are ignorant to the honest and modest dimensions of truth and common sense



Cordial Relations Between Two Races In  
South Desired

atlanta Independent 6/12/20

to remain here and make this section what it should be, they must be willing to accord us the same treatment as they do other classes of citizens. They must stop confounding civil and political rights with social equality. The Negro is not seeking social equality, he is simply seeking his civil and political rights. Give him that and he is satisfied. He is willing to vie with his white neighbors in building up the South and making it the garden spot of the world. No one desires more than he—friendly and cordial relation with his white neighbor. He has sought this ever since he has been in this country—especially since emancipation. He has been willing to make any reasonable concession to win the good will of the people among whom he lives, and he is as willing today as he was then; but he has made his mind up once for all that give him his liberty and rights as a citizen or nothing. This is fair and just and he should not be content with less.

## RACIAL EQUALITY AND THE FUTURE

Ex-United States Senator Theodore Burton from Ohio, in the last of a series of articles on world problems published in the New York Times Sunday, discusses in a tone of doleful fear the yellow peril and racial equality. After declaring that there are two principal arguments against the admission of alien races to white countries: First, that they are not congenial to Anglo-Saxon civilization, and secondly, that by reason of their cheaper wages they would place native labor at a disadvantage, Senator Burton frankly states that the greater efficiency and cheapness of Japanese labor has succeeded in giving Japan a strong and perilous hold upon the shipping trade in the Pacific Ocean. He then expresses the growing fear of the colorphobes of the Caucasian world as follows:

What will be the political relations with those countries? Some alarmists have been proclaiming that there is grave danger to the Caucasian race from the united action of the brown, the yellow and the black races. Reference is made to the fact that, combined, they outnumber the Caucasian two to one. It is said that not only do these other races have greater numbers at present, but the birth rate is such that the increase is much more rapid. It is also alleged that a legacy of discord has arisen from the war which will prevent anything like unity of action among the peoples of Europe and America, and that the allied nations, as well as the Central Powers, have been impoverished by the war. This fear is a bugaboo except in the possible case of Japan. The future only will determine whether Japan shall pursue a militant policy or confine her efforts to an industrial and social development in harmony with the better aspirations of peace-loving peoples.

As a solution for this threat of a future world race war, he says: "The one lesson to be derived from the larger prominence of these peoples is the supreme benefit of toleration and appreciation for all races and nations." Let us assure Senator Burton that "toleration and appreciation" are not only not a solution of the problem of racial equality, but an irritant and aggravation of the problem. The superior holier-than-thou "toleration" of the colored races by the white races is the heart of the trouble now. Any manifest assumption upon the part of the white race of condescension to "tolerate and appreciate" the colored race will be taken by the latter at its face value of hypocrisy and treachery. Any half-hearted efforts to reciprocate the full friendship and cooperation of the colored race will be worse than no efforts at all to still the world waters of racial strife. The so-called white countries would do better to grant at once full justice and equality to all races, regardless of creed or color, or else throw down the gauntlet and bid the darker races to make the most of it. The dreadful day of reckoning will be hastened no more by open defiance than by designing deceit and cowardly camouflage. If America, for example, excludes all other foreigners from ownership of land in the Republic she would be equally justified in denying ownership to the Japanese. If the peril of Oriental labor immigration to America seemed real, then America should raise her immigration bars so that no equally undesirable immigrants from any other nations might enter. The educational and financial requirements could be raised so high that all such immigrants could be barred. There is no more danger to America in the illiterate and poor, hardworking Japanese coming here than in the coming of the illiterate and poor, hardworking Russian, Slav, Pole or Italian. In fact, the Red Peril from Europe is more dangerous to and destructive of American ideals and institutions than the Yellow Peril from Asia. In short, we advise the Caucasian nations to grant all that is implied in the words "racial equality" to the colored nations at

That the most cordial relations should exist between the two races in this country—especially in the South—does not admit of dispute. It amounts to a truism. All fair-minded and sensible people of both races desire and invite such. It is certainly true of an overwhelming majority of negro citizens. They not only desire it, but pray for it.

Why should it not be so and what is the great obstacle that prevents such a relation? The reason is not far to seek. The trouble is race prejudice and race hate. Our white neighbors will not give us a square deal when we ask for equal and exact justice in the courts. When we ask for a jury consisting of members of our race as well as of the white race, we are regarded as impudent and "upperdy" and that the South is not the place for such citizens, and we must be taught our place; for if we are allowed to advocate or demand trial by a jury of colored and white citizens, we will ruin all the other negroes and the best thing to do is to get rid of us.

On the railroads, we are made to pay first-class fares on every road—local or interstate—and yet we are rammed and jammed in Jim Crow cars hardly fit for cattle, much less human beings. We are regarded as bad citizens if we enter a protest. No one who has traveled on the railroads throughout the South would deny for a moment that the treatment of our women and men received on the trains is just outrageous, and yet we are bad and mean if we take any exception to it. It is just intolerable.

It was no better when it was under the control of the Federal Government—if anything, it was worse. Now, if the strong arm of the Federal Government allowed such treatment of its citizens when under government control, what can we expect of the State, especially where they have such little regard for the rights of colored citizens? Such a condition of affairs ought not to obtain. There ought to be a remedy somewhere, but we need not expect it under the present Democratic administration. It is a well settled policy of that party to disregard the rights of Negro citizens. It is predicated on nothing but race prejudice. The test with that party is and always has been race and color without regard to merit and worth whatever.

During the present year thousands of negro citizens who paid their taxes and went to the tax collectors to register in order they might vote in the coming election, were denied. They were told flatly that they could not register. Some were told that they could vote if they owned forty acres of land or five hundred dollars worth of property, and yet other men could whether they had property or not. They could vote, because their great grandfather had taken part in some ancient war that took place in this country. This is in direct violation of the decision of the Supreme Court that knocked out the grandfather clause some years ago. Many of the States of the South utterly disregard that decision. It is to them like so many scraps of paper. Thousands of complaints come up from many counties in the State of Georgia by colored citizens declaring that they were unable to register after paying their taxes although they had to pay their taxes. This is unjust and un-American—and what is worse—it is in violation of the Constitution of the United States which declares: "The right to vote shall not be denied by the United States or any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." We can cry peace, but there will be no cordial relation as long as our white neighbors continue to deny us our constitutional rights.

In the distribution of the public funds for education and other public purposes, the Negro gets a mere pittance of what he is entitled. The teachers of Negro schools in the rural districts scarcely get enough to pay their board. They get less than field hands who work on the farm. It has become so miserable that thousands are leaving the school room and going to other occupations where they can make a living. It is a well known fact that the average Negro teacher in the country does not get over twenty dollars per month. Out of this she has to pay board and clothe herself. The school houses provided for Negro children are miserable. They are not as good as barns prepared for cattle and hogs. The buildings are unceiled, half covered and when it rains, you can keep about as dry outside as you can inside. In the same communities, excellent two-story buildings are provided for the children of the other race, spacious with all the modern equipments.

These are the conditions that confront the Negro in the South. Is it then at all surprising that he is dissatisfied and seeking to leave the farms and the little towns and cities where the school facilities are so bad. In the great city of Atlanta Negro children are jammed like sardine boxes in dark unsanitary rooms and the teachers are worked to death by having to teach from sun up to sun down. No wonder so many of them are dying out with tuberculosis and other diseases. As long as these conditions obtain in the South, so long will black men and women continue to go to other sections where they can get a square deal. Where their children can enter the best schools and colleges; where they get equal accommodations on the street cars and railroads and where they have the untrameled right to vote and have their vote fairly counted. These are the causes of the strained and uncordial relations between the races in the South, and it will continue as long as these unreasonable and barbarous conditions exist. If our white neighbors would have us



once. This does not contemplate social intercourse nor intermarriage. These things cannot be enjoined by statute nor imperilled by equal citizenship and privileges granted to any worthy man coming to our shores, whether the accident of his birth makes him hail from Vladivostok in Siberia or Yokohama in Japan. To pussy-foot with the problem is for America and the other so-called white nations to tamper with dynamite. At this critical hour, of world industry the toil of the patient, plodding, conservative yellow and black peoples the world over is sorely needed. In this critical hour of world peace after they have helped to save civilization from the white race this is the unfittest time in all creation for the white race to provoke the darker races by a common discrimination into another clash of arms. Half-way measures and hypocrisy will not avert it for long. The granting of racial equality, however rigid alone will suffice.

## AMERICANS—YES AND NO.

**D** ID you ever see a deliberative body with two presidents and both of them functioning at the same time? We know what your answer is going to be, you are going to say: "No." The solution of the race question in America, in the West Indies, India and Africa where the white man has been the chief presiding officer for many, many years hinges upon the question: Can two bodies occupy the same space at one and the same time? The answer is obvious. The unfortunate thing about it is that one of these bodies is black. If two presiding officers of an organization exercising exactly similar powers or two kings can sit upon a throne and rule a nation without friction they can. But if one only is necessary to perform the duties of the office what then is the manifest duty of the other? There is clearly something wrong in the ethics of modern Negro leadership when it encourages the masses to hope and believe that the impossible is easy of attainment. It isn't when we look at it with both eyes, we shall be sure to discover a ferocious lion in the way.

The greatest danger to the advancement of the Negro in this country, in the West Indies and in Africa is his potentiality for individual advancement, which not only makes of black competition a menace but evokes also the unreasoning racial hatred of the semi-civilized white man.

White men and black men who assert that the two races in this country—black and white—will ultimately harmonize, and that the blacks will possess and enjoy equally with the whites all the privileges, rights, immunities, opportunities, and the civil, political, social, industrial and economic rights now enjoyed without the slightest restriction by members of the white race, from the most degraded to the most honored and distinguished in that race, are mistaken in their guess and they will have to guess again.

Every successful Negro business or professional man is helping to increase and intensify racial antagonism. Reduced to the last analysis, it is not so much a question of color as it is a question of the preservation of a white racial prestige which has for a thousand years dominated the world.

The law of self-preservation is as old as civilization, and the white race will rigidly apply and enforce it as it always has hitherto against any race alien in blood and differing in complexion from it who may attempt to exercise equal power and authority with it in the government.

We do not overlook the fact (and it is a fact) that there are thousands of Negroes in the United States as in many of the British West Indian and African colonies who *think white*, and so will not agree with the views to which we here give expression.

We are sorry, of course, but we are not going to change our views until some metaphysician or philosopher can show us that our analysis of present conditions here and in the West Indies and Africa is not founded in reason—logic and common sense *which is the essence of logic*.

We are somewhat acquainted with history, modern and profane, and we do not recall a single instance showing where two entirely different races, one formerly a black subject race and the other a white dominant race, have merged and become *one race*—one people. Their failure to do so, however, does not imply that either was inferior to the other in the things that make for racial progress and uplift. We as a race can reach an understanding with the people among whom we are sojourning (and we are merely sojourners in this land, not *real* American citizens) which will secure to us and to our posterity the benefits and blessings now sought through the media of misguided leaders who are proceeding, as we believe, in the wrong way and permitting their zeal to run away with their judgment.

We are Americans—yes and no. But *we were Negroes first*, whether we have one-eighth or 180th of Negro blood. By virtue of the fact that some of us were born on this soil we are called Americans—this is the fiction. The fact is (and it is a bitter one) that Americans who exercise to the full their rights of citizenship persist in denying to us, who bear the same title, the full benefits which that title is supposed to give and in holding us to the *status* of Negroes and alien to themselves. Manifestly there is something wrong with our title or with the white man's conception of justice and fair play.

One or the other of these positions must be maintained.

What white man will conscientiously admit that he believes wholeheartedly in the social intermingling of the black and white race and in intermarriages between these races? We have not insisted on these things, but there can be no perfect equality of the races where these natural human rights are denied or withheld.

How many of them have given their daughters in marriage to well-to-do and cultured Negroes? Call the roll. How many sustain business of the country to form a society for the promotion of harmony between the two races. The committee for the reconciliation of the races is not in favor of the isolation of any race. It has gone on record as being opposed to the resolution passed by the negro convention held recently in Madison Square Garden calling upon all negroes to emigrate to Africa. Fenton

## Plans to End Race Riots

**Society Formed to Conciliate Whites and Negroes**

Belief that the race riots between negroes and whites can be avoided by led several prominent social workers

C. Johnson, the negro poet, speaking for the committee, explained yesterday that such a movement would only result in a loss for both races. "The negro is an essential economic unit in the welfare of America," he said. "The only solution of the present problem is for the blacks and whites to know each other better. That is the purpose of this committee."

NEW YORK CITY N. J. JOURNAL

JULY 24, 1920

RACE RELATION.

Editor Jersey Journal:

Sir—My idea as to the kind of relation that should exist between the whites and blacks of the forty-eight States of America, if put in practice, would, in my opinion, destroy every cause and effect of race hatred and race antagonism, which is, of course, the dominating cause of the great race problem and the bitter feeling that occasionally shows its fangs. Here are my ideas:

First—Abolish the word negro: make it a national misdemeanor for the word to be put in print. If there is any one thing that stands in the way of the desire of colored men to command recognition in business and politics it is the word negro.

If every colored journalist, politician, educator and preacher would get behind that damnable word (negro) and chase it off the face of the earth, through a process of clean honest propaganda for the enactment of a law for its extermination, the accomplishment of which would be the greatest of all previous efforts of any kind.

There is absolutely no righteous meaning in it; there is no credible history to it; it is a gift of the gods of slavery for which I am not a bit grateful. If the colored people are to be called anything other than Americans let them be called the American Ethiopians—the true, God-given name of our ancestors.

There is no word so sweet to the mouth of the uneducated white man as the word—negro—as a weapon when in dispute with one of my race.

Second—Give us separate schools for our children with equal opportunity in proportion to number, then our young men and women will be newly inspired to attain unto the highest standard of education that they may qualify as teachers, principals, presidents and superintendences of all the colored schools throughout the country with a mixed board of education.

Third—Let any decent, respectable family of either race live anywhere under the Stars and Stripes that they can afford to buy or rent, and above all let them appreciate, love and idealize the social circles of their respective races.

Fourth—Let there be a co-operative friendly relation between the two races in their business dealings. Owing to the lack of capital the manufacturing fields of business are not within the reach of colored business men only in a very small degree, but I would like to see a large number of jobbers and retailers and a certainty of a generous patronage of race consumers.

Fifth—Let all men cultivate the impersonal love of humanity, and race hatred will find its place in a herd of swine which will in turn choke in the sea of forgetfulness.

Yours very truly,

A. L. Settle.

277 Winfield Avenue,  
Jersey City, July 22, 1920.



# The Negro And The New Day

Bishop Frances J. McConnell, Ltd.

An Address Delivered on Negro Day at the Columbus Centenary.

*Southwestern Christian*  
*4/8/28*  
I WISH to speak to you for a little while about the significance of this afternoon about the Negro question for the new international day into which we have come. I am not talking to anybody here as a citizen of the South, I am not talking to anybody here just as a black man, I am not talking to anybody here as a citizen of the North; but I am talking to you all alike, as citizens of the United States, about to enter into new relationships with the other nations of the world.

The other day the final terms of peace were signed, so far as the United States was concerned, which provided for a League of Nations among the nations of the world. We have been saying very many things in the past few years about making the world safe for democracy, and as we come into this new League of Nations, let us remember that there are certain things we must do and certain things we must not do, if we are to come around the council tables of the nations with clean hands and speak out of sincere spirits. **The thing that distresses me about this lynching question, to which reference has been made, is just this—not that it reflects upon the South, not that it reflects upon the North, merely that wrong is done to the black man; it does all that, but it does this also: it brings us into the council chambers of the nations very liable to be misunderstood, very liable to be questioned, and everything we say concerning democracy.** I am not here to cast reproaches upon the white people of the South; I believe it is perfectly true, as their leaders have said, that ninety-five per cent of the white people of the South are in favor of doing away with lynching altogether. I think it is true, of course, that ninety-five per cent of the people of the North are in favor of doing away with lynching altogether. I know that my own section of the country—reared, as I was in Ohio and educated in New England, and living pretty much over the country—I know that my own Northern part of the United States has not been guiltless so far as lynching is concerned; that the fair annals of the state of Ohio too many times have been blackened in this way, and one of the latest great outrages was the outrage in East St. Louis.

I was down in Mexico—I go to Mexico once every year; I have been going there for the last seven years. One time I was in Mexico in very troubsome times, when it looked as if there might be an outbreak of war between the two nations because of the way the United States was charging Mexico with maltreating citizens and doing

crimes against the spirit of humanity. I remember how completely my lips were sealed and how little there was for me to say when a Mexican paper came out with three columns full, having kept a record for a year of accounts of lynchings in the United States. It reflects upon us internationally.

Now I have a suggestion to make. If ninety-five per cent of the people of the South want lynching stopped and yet are unable to stop it; if ninety-five per cent of the people of the North want lynching stopped and as yet individual communities are unable to stop it, what then is the sensible thing to do? The sensible thing then to do is to call in the power that can stop it.

I have seen enough of labor disturbances to know that one reason why the state militia cannot handle the labor question when rioting breaks out is because they are related and inter-related one way and another; they have their local interests. There is one authority in the United States that is not supposed to have local interests, and that is the authority of the federal government.

And I think that the next step to take on this whole abominable business, North as well as South, is to put upon the statute books of the United States a federal law that will deal with this matter. And I say that not because I am interested in any one particular section. I refer to the entire United States—not Alabama, not Georgia, not Tennessee, not Ohio, but the United States! The United States asked the Negro to fight—that's who did it, the United States! The federal government should see that he gets some protection against this awful crime! And we cannot go into the council chambers of the nations unless, as a nation, our faces are set as a flint against this thing.

Now, in the next place, let me say this. Reference has been made here to the fact that twelve million Negroes in the United States, laborers most of them, are full of the right kind of Americanism and will stand against Bolshevism, will stand against radicalism. I want to say this, and I am not saying this as a threat to anybody but simply as the statement of a fact. The fact is just this: With seven million, five hundred thousand men of working age killed; to say nothing of those dead from disease, with seven million workmen killed in this last war there is really a dearth in the labor market. Unionism is bound to spread, in spite of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward Negroes. Unionism is bound to spread, until Unionism has touched practi-

cally every man who cares to come near it. The only man who will stay out is the man who cares to stay out. I am not saying it is right; I am not saying it is wrong; I simply say it is inevitable. We talk about the I. W. W., for example; what is the trouble with it? The I. W. W. man is a man who has no home, he is a man who has no permanent job, he is a man who has no wife. You make it impossible for the Negro to have a home! You make it impossible for the sanctity of his home to be respected! You make him feel that he is not a part of the ordinary laboring force of the community, and what do you do? You make it possible, then, for the radical agitator to play upon his feelings about the matter. The Negro always has been an American.

He does not stand for that type of internationalism which does away with national boundaries. And I say simply this: that in this international day, this new day to which we have come, the best thing we can do is not to talk about philanthropy for the Negro, not to hand him out gifts, not to talk about benevolence, but to see that he gets a fair day's pay for a fair day's work!

If he raises \$3,000 worth of cotton, when he takes \$3,000 worth of cotton to the gin, he shall get \$3,000 for it! And if you can deal fundamentally justly with him, just along the lines of simple economic honesty, you are going to put up a bulwark against a thing that is over-radical and against a thing that is unsound, and you are going to inject into an international labor movement, that is bound to come, a great stream of sound Americanism.

Now in the next place let me say this: That Woodrow Wilson has been talking, and we are all talking about the relations between the so-called more favored nations and the so-called less favored nations, the contact; we are talking about trusteeships for backward nations, and all that kind of thing. Here is one place where the question is being asked more and more, "How is the Negro giving an account of himself?" And I want to say this, from the point of view of one looking out upon this matter from the international standpoint, that one of the most hopeful signs today is just the way the Negro is proving himself in all the church relationships; in all the relationships, that I have seen him capable of self-government.

I held three Methodist conferences this last spring and winter, the Mississippi and the Louisiana conferences. In one of those conferences there were seven district superintendent reports read one after the other. They were the best set of district superintendent reports I ever heard read. And after I heard those reports, I knew better what to do, I knew more what was expected, what was the nature of the situation, than from







## Race Problem - 1920

### General Analysis

From fore going card

"The Negro and the New Day"

South Western Christian  
Advocate. 4/8/20

did. I don't know why He made you black, and I don't know why there are vel-low races and I don't know why there are red races, but I am perfectly sure that when the time comes, we will see that there is some abundant good reason for it. And now we are all already beginning to get a glimpse of that very sort of thing namely, that every race has its distinctive contribution to make to that sum total called civilization.

I am not here to disparage the white race. I am in doubt sometimes just what our part is—I don't know. I think I can see the part of some of the races to the great sum total, but in the final system of things and the final day, we are going to have a governed society, built up not of people all alike, but of people, different people maintaining their differences, people maintaining their ways of looking at things and their ways of speaking, and their ways of doing things, and yet through their representative at least meeting on the plane of mutual Christian brotherhood and respect.

In England today there is a very significant political movement. It is the movement they call federalism. That does not mean what the federalism of our fathers did. It means that people of a distinct point of view, people of a distinctive occupation, shall be enabled to group themselves together and impress their own distinct point of view on society and their representative shall meet the representatives of people of other points of view. And that is my ideal of a democracy: Each race, each nation standing for its own point of view, respecting every other nation

## COLOR QUESTION VITAL ALIKE TO ALL IN AMERICA.

KANSAS CITY MO. TO WHAT

OCTOBER 12, 1920

at and Chronicle.)

"Some day either they will cease to burn men in Texas and Mississippi or they will burn them in New York. Some day either they will not burn black men or they will burn white men."

By this statement and dozens similarly trenchant the claim that the question of the future of the negro in America is one that concerns white men nearly as vitally as negroes, and negroes of the North as vitally as those of the South, was vividly expounded by William Pickens, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and one of the foremost minds in the colored race, in an address which he delivered last evening in the First Baptist church on "Inter-racial Co-operation."

"There is not a place in the United States of America where the colored people really are free," Mr. Pickens declared, "and if the freedom of the black man suffer, the freedom of the white man is sure to be degraded."

"What raises the devil in the world," he said, "is that the other fellow thinks he is all right and that I am all wrong. But if I feel the moral obligation to convince that man that there is a little bit of truth in what I have to say, there is where the possibility of negotiation begins."

"Now, black man," he interrogated, "if you were in the white man's place, are you sure that you would be a better and juster man than he has been? If you had faced the opportunities and temptations that he has for the last three hundred years, are you sure that you would have done better? If you were a people conscious of its superiority—when I say superiority I mean superiority of power through educational and financial advantages—are you sure that you would have let the other race up gently and with a smile?"

"Now, white man, if you were in the historical and social position of the black man, would you have been any better? Would you have had the patience and contentment that the black man has shown? If any other race—say the Japanese—had held you in subjection and servitude for three hundred years, and if that race, often by insinuation and sometimes by direct challenge, had called you half a man, would you concede that you were inferior to him by nature?"

"The newspapers have abused the mind of America about the colored people."

"You cannot keep colored men out of your trade unions and then prevent them from working as strike-breakers. You know, the black man is as willing to learn more money and do less work as the white man."

Mr. Pickens paid a tribute to the part that the colored American played in the European war. He said that when suspicion lurked everywhere and trustworthy men were sought to work in munition plants, powder mills and other hazardous places, the black face was the best badge of trust and confidence a man could have. He told of the part played by colored regiments and individuals with the American army in France and of the shattering of the myth that while a colored man made a good soldier he could not be trained as an officer. Mr. Pickens himself assisted in founding a training camp which turned out some fifteen hundred colored officers.

"When we wanted to make the black man an American soldier, we gave him an American soldier's training. So we do not want to make the black man a white man now, but an American citizen, and there is no way we can make him so other than by treating him as an American citizen."

"Every fool knows that if the colored soldier gave way on the field of battle it would have meant calamity for the American army, but it takes a wise man to see that when the black citizenry gives way to the social evils, whatever they may be, it means calamity for the American race."

"Black people and white people should look hopefully on the growing capacity for living peacefully and usefully and profitably that has been displayed by the colored race. There is no doubt that the two races must continue to live here together, and they should and must live in sympathy and co-operation. It is a false alarm that one part of this nation must advance at the expense of another part."

"The blacks of this country do not show a tendency to lower the standards of living as the orientals are said to do. The negro is a good and cheerful spender. There is a dreadful inconsistency in the fact that the white man on the Pacific coast says the orientals will lower the standards of living by living cheaply, while the white man on the Atlantic coast complains because the colored people want and are getting what the white people have."

"You cannot make two civilizations for two peoples on the same soil. They will tend to become uniform. You cannot be half slave and half free today any more than you could in the time of Abraham Lincoln."

## CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

In the Sunday issue of the Memphis Commercial-Appeal there appeared an editorial, "The Mother of Parliaments," in which the writer shows such a spirit of toleration for the English in their Irish problem, and yet such a spirit of sympathy for the Irish that we are reproducing it herewith:

### The Mother of Parliaments.

The English people appear in nothing more characteristic than in the exhibitions of their parliamentary life; which is by no manner of means the same thing as saying that their legislative conduct is uniformly above reproach; for it is not infrequently displayed, through its long history, in indefensible conduct.

But the sinewy exercise of the free powers of a great nation in its legislative halls is an inspiring sight; and nowhere have these intellectual athletics been exhibited in a great forum or to nobler purposes than in the "Mother of Parliaments," the British House of Commons.

What has been taking place at Westminster during the past two days, however, casts lurid glare upon the tragical history of unhappy Ireland and illumines the shadowy figures of Emmett, O'Connell, Parnell and other Irish patriots. And one wonders if such a course will never have an end. Must Irishmen continue to the end of time fighting the battle of freedom for other peoples, and be continually rewarded with domestic slaughter and oppression?

England has displayed a genius for government unmatched by any people but her own. Does it not seem strange that, possessing these rare powers and many indications of magnanimity, they are unable to discover a way in which they may safely live on terms of amity with the gifted Irish people?

As Bishop Gailor tells us in his interesting letter, the English display "no bitterness or vindictiveness" concerning Ireland. "To them it is all 'in the family,' and nobody else's business." But we may at least sympathize with the Irish and with them indulge the hope that a good understanding may be speedily realized.

What would be the effect upon this country if the editor of the Commercial-Appeal would use his influence in Memphis, the State of Tennessee, the Southland, and this country as a whole by asking, "Must Negroes continue to the end of time fighting the battles of freedom for other peoples, and be continually rewarded with domestic slaughter and oppression?"

We ask the editor directly the rhetorical question which he asked generally: "Does it not seem strange to you that a people who claim to have a genius for government unmatched by any people but their own, possessing these rare powers and many indications of magnanimity are unable to discover a way in which they may safely live on terms of amity with their loyal, industrious and gifted Negro neighbors?"

In no uncertain terms you have told us that what makes the South solid is a fixed determination to keep the Negro in a



place which you have selected for him, in which you encourage servility and ignorance by extolling the virtues of those who exhibit these qualities. Do you not know that these shrewd people play upon your vanity by flattery for selfish purposes and laugh at your lack of judgment?

We wonder, too, if the blood shed on Boston Commons by Crispus Attucks, the first to shed his blood for American freedom, and all his illustrious followers in every war in which the honor and safety of the American flag have been at stake, was shed in vain?

If the faithful services of the Negro slave who sacrificed his chance for liberty because of personal love and the confidence of a master that he would be faithful, standing guard over the property of that master and over the honor of this women left in his protecting care, will receive no greater reward than sentimental talk about "My black mammy," or faithful old Uncle Joe?

The lives of these whom you would honor were spent in loving service to your children.

No greater proof of an honest desire to repay the debt could be presented to the world to whom we are preaching Democracy than to give the children of Uncle Joe and Mammy Jane some of the sympathy now so generously bestowed upon the suffering subject peoples of the world, yea more than sympathy—Justice.

Search the records of the exemption boards of the south and the proportion drafted into the army of each race, and ask if we did our part.

We have a distinct memory of a scathing criticism you made of a Mississippi county which drafted fifty-four Negroes and one white man.

When America went forth to serve humanity and make the world safe for Democracy, we answered the call. We worked twenty hours out of twenty-four in labor battalions, and when the last gun fired we stood nearest the enemy's lines.

We want no cheap tawdy pink tea type of "social equality," as painted by the demagogue seeking office, who does not hesitate to fan the flames of racial hatred, to get votes, we want "social justice" in the broad sense, the right to live and work in safety, to live in a clean and wholesome environment, to educate our children, to be men, not things, and we protest today as you did years ago, against taxation without representation. Charity begins at home. We stand at the door of your conscience and knock. What is your answer?

#### WHEELING W V INTEL'GENCE JUNE 19, 1920 THE RACE PROBLEM

At one time lynchings, of which the colored man was the regular victim, were considered a peculiar characteristic of the South. They have become ordinary amusements and social activities. Under certain conditions the tolerance with which the colored man has been brought upon in northern communities is likely to disappear quickly, and to be replaced by a senseless hatred. The violent disturbances in Chicago a few months ago is still fresh in memory. Much of the race antagonism

But where no sections exist and where there is no possibility of peaceful purchase it is not to be expected that the negro who has the money will refrain from buying, even if thereby he does intrude himself among unfriendly neighbors.

We need to give to the race problem in this country a great deal of serious study. The problem is no longer confined to the South. It is in nearly every important American city, and it can be solved in part, at least, by a frank recognition of the fact that a negro has a right to live, has a right to home, and has a right to share in the ordinary enjoyments of life.

SYRACUSE N Y JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 14, 1920

#### Negroes Want Bates to Study Race Question

Representatives of the Hempstead Negro Foundation will come to Syracuse Thursday to invite Erl Bates, friend of the Six Nations, to study for the race question of the South and put into effect there some of the ideas he has evolved to ameliorate to the Indian and whites in New York State.

The conditions of the agreement give the local man two years in which to study the negro problem, before entering upon active work. It is stated that the proposition carries a salary of \$6,000 a year.

Mr. Bates is at present connected with the Agricultural College at Cornell. He has made no decision in the matter.

1915. NEVADA. NO. FIVE. POST  
OCTOBER 14, 1920

The fact that the United States, as a member of the League of Nations, would sit in conference with "Negro Nations" was stressed by Miss Alma Sasse, Republican woman speaker, at the court house Saturday night. At the same time the Republicans of Missouri are turning heaven and earth to get out the negro vote—men and women alike. A crowd of negroes stood outside while Miss Sasse spoke, but nobody invited them in. It is the usual Republican view. The negro vote is wanted, but not his presence or participation, says the Paris, Mo., Mercury.

COLORED RACE AND ITS  
RELATION TO WHITE  
TRENTON N J ADVERTISER  
NOVEMBER 28, 1920

Editor Sunday Times-Advertiser:  
Dear Sir—Race equality is not social equality. Yet we are continually being confronted with the idea as if they were one and the same,

when the fact is they are as different as black is from white. Race equality deals with innate, inherent qualities, but social equality deals with social life only and has no relationship whatever to race, but body associated together for business purposes, for instance, a state, city or town.

The Apostle Paul in the 17th chapter of Acts says: "God has made us all out of one blood," and in the 26th verse, "And God hath made of one blood all nations of men."

Now, since the Scripture says God made all nations, and so all races, and that He made them all out of blood of one man (and that man was Adam), how, then, can one race be superior to the other? For that is saying a thing can be superior to itself, which is a scientific impossibility. Can you tell me what it is that makes one man think and feel that he and his race are superior to others in racial qualities, when, according to the Scripture, it is just quoted God made all of one blood? The Apostle Paul is rebuking the foolish Greeks, who thought the same thing, but they had some kind of a logical claim for their belief, for they believed that they were the offspring of Ion, who was the son of the god Mars. But the white races of today have no such claim for their overdrawn race vanity.

Yes, we have by divine creator racial equality, and we have for business and economical purposes equal association, but not personal, individual intercourse nor do we, as a colored race, ask or want that. Indeed, we look and long for the day when we shall have power to make the white man keep his personal self to himself more and more.

KANSAS CITY POST  
JANUARY 25, 1920

Concerning the first, segregation Booker Washington said, "If you attempt to put all the Negroes in one place, you will have to build a mighty high fence to keep the Negroes in and a lot higher fence to keep the white men out."

Concerning deportation he said, "While you are loading up a ship with 600 Negroes, and while they are sailing away to Africa and you are enthusiastically waving goodbye on the shore, thinking you have solved the Negro problem, you forget that 1,000 little, black babies are born in that very moment."

Concerning amalgamation he said, "One-tenth of Negro blood constitutes one Negro. So, according to that, everybody in the country would be a Negro by and by, and the white race would be extinct."

Concerning assassination, of course he did not consider it necessary to offer an answer, as nobody with any brains or heart wants to put it into effect.

CHICAGO ILL NEWS  
FEBRUARY 3, 1920  
CULTIVATING THE NEGRO.

The last sentence of the last paragraph of Arnold T. Hill's article headed "The Negro's Desire" reads thus:

"Failure to educate, utilize and appreciate a loyal and dependable racial group within our own borders, while we hazard our future by making it comfortable for others whom some day we may have to deport, is bad economics."

Being a negro myself, I believe that one of my race is in the best position to welcome those words. That sentence has soothed the souls of countless Americans of dark color whose forbears and kin have fought, with glory, for American

ideals on every field of battle from Bunker Hill to Carrizal and Chateau Thierry.

This sentence of unimpeachable truth should be read by all 100 per cent Americans and they should act accordingly. Chicago. CORNELIUS MANN.

#### NEGRO AMERICANIZATION

According to a speaker at a recent social service conference in North Carolina, white citizens in this country have followed four lines in facing the race problem. Her summary of those four methods is not flattering to the fairness or forward vision of the race that likes to think itself as superior to all the colored races.

The first method is extermination. Only a few whites consider this a satisfactory method of dealing with a great problem. But the fact remains that there are still lynchings and burnings of Negroes in this country, in the North quite as much as in the South, and of innocent Negroes as well as of guilty ones.

The second method is deportation. There are many advocates among both whites and blacks of the return of Negroes to Africa. But there is no assurance that this would work. It seems to be impracticable no matter how it is looked at. In the first place, most Negroes want to stay here, and, in the second place, the white man does not want them to go.

The third "method" is called so atonely by courtesy. It is indifference and neglect, and is the policy pursued by the great majority of whites. It is the easiest way, of course, requiring little or no thinking and only an occasional expression of sympathy for the oppressed race or of concern for the governing whites. It solves no problems, and by its very passiveness permits injustice and outrage to go on unchecked.

The fourth method is Americanization. The term is not wholly satisfactory. It includes a great deal not at first apparent. It means the education of the whole community—white citizens as well as black—in love of country, obedience to its laws, good citizenship, fairness to all. It calls for better education for Negroes, with their schools as well equipped and efficiently administered as the schools for white children. It means justice in the courts—which is too often denied the Negro actually, although granted theoretically. It means economic justice, wholesome and decent living conditions in cities everywhere.

Perhaps the problem is one we shall never wholly solve. But certainly an honest attempt at solution along the lines suggested in the fourth method would do much to decrease its greatest evils and to make less bitter and hopeless the Negro's outlook on life. —Portsmouth Star.



Race Problem—U.S.—1920

# General Analysis. THE NEGRO'S DESIRE.

HE CLAIMS THE RIGHT TO BE UNDERSTOOD.

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS  
JANUARY 28, 1920

Every so often the press reports alleged revolutionary acts on the part of the negro. Constantly during the war attempts were made to connect him with German propaganda. When he began to migrate northward it was said that politicians were corraling his vote for the presidential election. To-day the negro's uncompromising program for the unrestricted use of the ballot, justice to the courts, freedom from mob violence and voice in matters of the common weal is craftily interpreted as sedition, revolution and bolshevism.

To a member of the race there is nothing illusory in the present attitude of the negro. An army officer on a special mission from Washington once asked a group of colored men what secret force was at work to hold negro in the north. He had knowledge, so he said, of conditions under which the race is forced to work and live in the south, but still he could not understand why, when promises of improved conditions were made, the negroes were loath to return. A negro knows and feels why. Unfortunately he has not been able to transmit his point of view to others, with a result that he is seldom understood. He lacks the avenues for presenting an intelligent picture of his situation, with the consequence that he receives distasteful and injurious publicity.

Some time ago a local newspaper used the words "black mammy." The attention of the editor was called to their use. He replied that he failed to see wherein they were objectionable. He probably did not see. Perhaps he did not try to see, or perhaps he could not see. He was familiar with the traditional abhorrence the negro has for certain terms. Public speakers frequently employ the word "mammy" to convey affection, sympathetic understanding or long years of association, but the colored people regard it as a symbol of slavery and a speaker becomes unpopular with them immediately upon his using the word.

A certain woman expert in vocational guidance once advocated domestic service as the field of work in which the negro should specialize. The other party to the conversation, a colored person, was called ignorant and discourteous because he disagreed. That the negro race furnishes its full share of the servants of the country, that most of them labor in the south, where they are paid low wages, and that desire for better opportunities for his boy or girl is a natural ambition which every parent shares, made little or no impression upon this vocational expert.

Negro books, magazines and newspapers should be read universally. The public is ignorant of the real issues involved in the negro's fight for fair play. In his resentment there is something finer than race antipathy. The striking back attitude of the negro has deeper

courses relating to the intellectual, commercial and political life of Latin-America." Dr. Yanes estimates that there are now 5,000 Latin-American students in the United States, of whom 2,500 are in our colleges and universities. In order to place the educational facilities of this country within the reach of Latin-American students, fifty institutions offer free instruction to such students.

The report calls attention to the increase in the number of students in American schools who are studying the Spanish language, and Dr. Yanes expresses the hope that the increase in the study of Spanish will continue and that American educational institutions will put it on the same plane as French.

PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC LEDGER  
JANUARY 23, 1920  
PROFESSOR HILL AND NEGRO

Does Not Advocate Violence to Achieve Justice for His Race

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—I notice in the morning paper the following quotation, said to have been part of my expression at the post-war meeting at the Friends' Race Street Meeting:

House last night: "Some negroes today falsely preach that as they stood before death in France for the rights of their country, so they should stand and demand that their country give them an equal chance here at home. This, however, is not the proper way to gain our ends."

Somehow there has been some slip in length by Dr. Richard Wallace Hogue yesterday afternoon in his lecture of the American negro can do is to demand day and night that this country shall give him an equal chance with every other American citizen at home or abroad. I positively do believe that just as we stood before death in France for the rights of our country, so we should stand here now squarely on our feet for these same rights. The only question that disturbs any of us is in regard to the best method.

I tried to suggest that I thought the best judgment of our leading people was that methods of violence would not be effective. I said also that thoughtful colored people were everywhere determined not to be stampeded into committing race suicide by preaching any doctrine of the Reds or of any other movement against law and order. This is a very different thing from standing for our rights. I do not know the colored man who is so utterly lacking in self-respect as to give up in these crucial times his blood-bought claims to all the clear privileges and obligations of an American citizen. For my part, I do not think life is worth living for any colored man who in these days considers for a moment giving up this good fight.

It is of greatest importance that colored men who speak in public should make themselves clear beyond question on these great issues concerning 12,000,000 of our people. That is why I hope you will help me to correct the impression which your quotation gives.

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL,  
Principal Cheyney Training School,  
Cheyney, Pa., January 17, 1920.

## Negro Not After Social Equality

Dr. R. W. Hogue's Opinion Based on Observation of Negro

Leaders  
LYNCHBURG VA NEWS  
MAY 7, 1920

Today's topic: "The Church and the Social Order."  
8:30 o'clock, "The Challenge to the Church."  
8 o'clock, "The Answer of the Church."

"A majority of the negro leaders with whom I have come in touch, believe that social amalgamation is wrong and they want to protect their own race integrity and not create a hybrid race by inter-marriage," said Dr. Richard Wallace Hogue in his address on the negro problem at the Westminster church last night.

Dr. Hogue expressed this as his belief in spite of the teachings of Dubois and several other "long distance" men of that type. In making his point, Dr. Hogue cited several incidents in the history of the race trouble.

Dr. Hogue further gave it as his opinion that the negro race is at present in a pioneer state, just as any other race is in its early life.

The effect of the press in forming public opinion was considered at length by Dr. Richard Wallace Hogue yesterday afternoon in his lecture of the American negro can do is to demand day and night that this country shall give him an equal chance with every other American citizen at home or abroad. I positively do believe that just as we stood before death in France for the rights of our country, so we should stand here now squarely on our feet for these same rights. The only question that disturbs any of us is in regard to the best method.

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LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL,  
Principal Cheyney Training School,  
Cheyney, Pa., January 17, 1920.

## ARLOS BEE BLAMES AGITATOR FOR NEGRO TROUBLES OF COUNTRY

Declares Race Is Tractable and Can Be Taught Better Doctrines

SAN ANTONIO TEX LIGHT  
JUNE 18, 1920

Blaming the agitator, who tries to persuade the negro that "certain things belong to him which God Almighty never intended him to have and never will," for negro troubles throughout the country, especially in the northern states, Congressman Carlos Bee Friday, before the Kiwanis Club at the Gunter Hotel, advised "kindness, consideration and opportunity within the negro's sphere and limitations" from the white man but the inculcation in the negro's mind that "if he thinks he can invade the white man's home and family, he is mistaken and the responsibility for the consequences is no longer ours but his."

Congressman Bee pointed out that the negro is not inherently a "bad man"; that he proved the most docile, obedient and safe servant ever known in slavery times. But, he said, the agitator has started the negro on the downward path through an attempt to inculcate social equality in the negro's mind and use him for political purposes.

"The agitator is the negro's worst enemy," Mr. Bee said, illustrating by declaring that the Washington negro, who thinks he is in his paradise, is the most unhappy of his race while the negro in the South, where he knows and keeps his place and is certain of lifelong kindness from the whites, is the happiest.

The white man was put in the lead of affairs "by the wisdom of God," the speaker asserted, and the politician who tries to build his fortune on the political equality of the races is hurting not only himself but the rest of the people as well.

Mr. Bee pointed out the negro is impressionable and can be easily reached and that the doctrine of kindness can eradicate the doctrine which agitators have so easily instilled in his mind.

The speaker inserted a few words against lynch law and the "absolute necessity" of everyone obeying the laws of the country.

"The lesson the negro must take with him on his 'June 'teenth' celebration this year is that he must build character, improve his conditions financially and socially and that he cannot get along without working—and we will help him in all these," Mr. Bee concluded.

Dr. E. W. McCamish introduced the speaker and acted as leader of the meeting. J. H. Bowler won the attendance prize. Frank Rennert and Emil Frank formed the reception committee.



JUNE 2, 1920

# ATLANTA'S NEGRO CONVENTION

Atlanta is indulging the novel experiment of entertaining a negro convention. The particular leaders have been holding their meetings in other parts of the country and passing some very drastic resolutions demanding that the negro be given all of his rights under the Federal Constitution. Atlanta surprised the leaders of the negro association by inviting them to hold this year's convention in that city. And as a sort of try-out on the home-ground, they set the stage in Atlanta to show, it is explained, that this association is not the kind that remains in the North and fires broadsides against Southern injustices and outrages but that it has come to Georgia in all respect and deference to talk out in open meeting. Five hundred delegates from forty-three States, representing 80,000 negroes and 12,000 white associates, are in attendance. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the negro magazine, "The Crisis," official organ of the association, said on leaving New York for Atlanta:

We go to Atlanta this year, not in a truculent spirit, but at the same time with no changes in the platform upon which we have insisted for eleven years. That platform includes a vote for every negro man and woman on the same terms as for white men and women; justice in the courts, the stamping out, by Federal authority if the States will not act, of lynching and mob violence; the abolition of "Jim Crowism," whether on railroad trains or in government departments at Washington; the right and exercise of right in jury service—in short, we ask for every right guaranteed the negro under the Federal Constitution. We are hoping for a free and frank discussion of these things which will lead to the only solution of the "Negro Problem"—giving him a square deal.

DuBois, being a leader or the leader, naturally knew whereof he spoke. So, on Sunday, the first day of the convention, five demands were presented as embodying what the association stands for: Abolish lynching, provide equal education and equal industrial opportunities, give the ballot to negro men and women under the same conditions it is granted to whites; abolition of Jim Crowism and segregation.

There will be no quarrel or disagreement with the association on the first count, that of abolishing lynching. Every normal and calm man in the South deplores lynchings and would like to prevent and eliminate them now and forever. We should like to be hopeful of its immediate consummation, but honesty compels the opinion that it cannot be done by law or tears. The negro leaders of the association have in mind are the college bred, the educated. The negro who is lynched is the brute who commits atrocious crimes through race hatred or for no reason at all. He is the hellion that bars the way to amity in this respect. As long as the crimes are committed by the blacks, and then the criminal shielded, there is bound to be all manner of trouble. In many instances lynching is the only way by which

to handle a situation. This is deplorable, but it is a fact. It cannot be denied, however, that the remedy sought to be applied in extirpation of a crime leads the perpetrators or avengers into deeds as desperate and deplorable as was the villainy of the original offender. And white men, building upon the heinousness of certain crimes herein referred to, seize it as a pretext for unlimited lawlessness and persecution of inoffensive negroes in their communities. Therein lies the problem that does not belong alone to the negroes—now in Atlanta or elsewhere. The problem may some day be solved or solve itself, but it will require a change of heart in both races before any progress is made in this direction.

The second demand of the convention is for equal education. This probably means mixed schools in the South as in the North. And it cannot be done. There they have but few negroes, they are on the average more sanitary, mannerly, and of a different class from what is encountered in the South in overwhelming majority. Besides, the Northern children and people have not the aversion to association with the negro that is found among Southerners. Southern people have been reared differently, and are just simply another kind of people from those in the North. If, on the other hand, it is "demanded" that negroes have equal school facilities, that may pass without discussion. The negro should be educated to be productive, and to make of him an asset to the community in which he lives. Ignorance means lack of productiveness, and that means that every such individual is a liability upon his community and the nation, and not an asset.

It is desired that the negro have accorded him equal industrial opportunities. This is already a fact in the South, and the universality of the practice is the marvel of all other parts of the United States. So, it may be inferred, the convention is not quarreling with the South exclusively.

It is demanded that the ballot shall be given negro men and women under the same conditions it is accorded to others.

This is approximately a fact in Georgia at this time. We did have a dishonest grandfather clause operative up until 1916 by which the ignorant white man could register and vote, and the ignorant negro could not; but the statute of limitations has run against that clause, and they register on equal terms now. The white primary, however, is still operative, and in this way the negro's participation in Southern politics is made of little consequence. This can't be prevented nor remedied. The white people have the right to center upon one man for an office and to vote for him. The negroes no reason at all. He is the hellion that bars the way to amity in this respect. As long as the crimes are committed by the blacks, and then the criminal shielded, there is bound to be all manner of trouble. In many instances lynching is the only way by which

accorded white people, where the same fare is charged. The Jim Crow arrangement comes about by insufficient negro passengers to require a full coach, and a partition cuts the coach in two parts, one end being used for white smokers and the other for negro passengers. If more accommodations are needed the railroad has to provide them. But no changes will be made in the matter of segregation, either in schools, in railroad trains, in street cars, in residential districts. There are few white men who are not pleased with the well-to-do negro and take pride in his prosperity and citizenship. He is welcome to own and enjoy the best home his money can buy in a section apart from white people. And it might be said in passing, in justice to the well-to-do Southern negro, that he has pride and will not go where he is not desired. He is not clamoring for some of these things the Northern negroes have come down here to demand for him.

The Atlanta convention will be watched with interest, in order to ascertain from its proceedings whether or not the leaders of the negro race and those white men who have identified themselves with it, really have any practical ideas by which to do something worth while. The negro has an important part in American industry. He will some day have an important part in American civilization if he is taught to make progress slowly, practically, definitely and substantially. But if he hastens and endeavors to secure results by tugging on his own boot straps to hoist himself into position that he has not earned and which he cannot hold, it will be to his detriment and disadvantage to have conventions held which embrace such scope and ambitions as outlined by that one now in session in Atlanta.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

APRIL 30, 1920

OUCH!

Ronald McNeill, Unionist for the Canterbury division of Kent, in parliament asked the British government whether, as a remark of respect for the American senate, the house of commons would be able to move a resolution in support of the Philippine demand for self-determination.

Mr. McNeill also asked if the government had any information regarding a manifesto to be issued in Washington by the Philippines commission for independence, in which manifesto it would be maintained that the principle of self-determination would be better advanced by the American congress in a declaration affecting the Philippines than in one affecting Ireland.

Mr. Andrew Bonar Law, for the government, said that he had no information on the question, which did not seem to be one in which the British government was concerned. Sir Edward Carson asked if "it would not be better for each country to leave the other alone." Mr. Bonar Law said he thought that his answer had been that probably it would be better.

The British have knocked the ball over the fence

and cleared the bases. They did it courteously. They also have cleared the air and have done so without breaking any of the windows or pulling a curtain pole down on any one's head.

The importunities of American politics, operating upon American senators anxious to catch this vote and the other vote, made the United States senate a busybody in British affairs. Ireland may have a cause dear to the heart of many Americans, but it has no cause which has a place in the American congress.

It is not the business of the American congress to declare what shall or should be British internal policy. It does not do the Irish much good when the senate declares that Ireland ought to be free. It may do them harm. It certainly does the United States harm.

We have a few internal problems of our own. In parliament a sense of reticence and courtesy limited the inquiry to the Philippines. The Filipinos seem to want their freedom. They are asking for it. They have not been asking Americans to give them liberty as long as the Irish have been asking England to give them liberty, but they are asking for it, and this land is supposed to be dedicated to liberty. The parliamentarians took the least offensive way to suggest that the United States mind its own business.

Horatio Bottomley, in John Bull, touched another spot. He suggested that the United States attend to the case of the southern Negro, who seems to find life impaired as to physical security in some cases and as to political liberty in all.

If the British parliament were to regard American internal affairs as open to British suggestion and advice as the American congress regards British internal affairs open to American suggestion and advice, we might soon have these two legislatures engaged in international recriminations which would rapidly extend down to the people and affect their thoughts and actions.

By degrees the two peoples would work themselves into a state of mind leading to a state of war. One people cannot meddle with the affairs of another and two peoples cannot meddle with each other's affairs and not provoke hostility.

If as the result of continual provocation we had a useless war, the United States and Great Britain would have committed about as great a crime against themselves as they could.

Ireland morally is as much entitled to freedom as any land. The United States senate will not free it, and we doubt if Americans want another application of the selective draft and the imposition of new war taxes to carry out the senate pronouncements.



# General Analysis. FIVE THOUSAND ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND BLUE RIDGE CONFERENCES

ASHVILLE, N. C. CITIZEN

JULY 31, 1920

World Famous Speakers and Lecturers on Faculties of the Various Conferences Which Are Being Held at the Spacious Grounds Near Black Mountain

The total attendance at the Blue Ridge conference this summer will exceed five thousand, Dr. W. D. Weatherford, executive secretary of the Blue Ridge association, estimates. Last year more than 1,500 were turned away because of lack of space, and although some sixty rooms have since been added to the accommodations, it is not unlikely that as many will have to be refused admittance this year.

A few statistics indicate the extent of the undertaking of entertaining this season: The Blue Ridge conference, which has a capacity of 650 guests at one time, has 34 buildings and a total property valuation of half a million dollars. A staff of 143 college men and women is employed during the summer to do the work in the big hall and the cottages. Blue Ridge has its own electric plant, its own water supply, its own sewage disposal system, its own truck gardens and its own athletic field, tennis courts and swimming pool. The dining room seats 618 guests at one time.

Three hundred and ninety delegates to the city conference of the Young Women's Christian Association are now at work. This conference, which began July 23, will close August 2. Among the speakers are the Rev. John M. Moore, of the Marcy Avenue Baptist church, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. Arthur Rowbotham, of the Y. W. C. A., June 14, which was Roanoke, Va.; Rev. Thomas Carter, Nashville, Tenn.; E. C. Lindeman, of the North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C.; Rev. Gordon Poterat, China, and the Rev. J. J. Dimon, Washington, D. C., who will speak Sunday morning. The conference will close Sunday evening, when Miss Mary Louise Allen, conference executive from New York, will preside. Twenty-five members of the national board of the Y. M. C. A. and the national secretaries and field committees are attending the meetings. The southern officers of the conference are Miss Mary Louise Allen, New York, executive; Mrs. J. H. Hoskins, St. Louis, Mo., hostess; Miss Lorena Boyd Mason, Richmond, registrar; Miss Hallie E. Gramling, Louisville, assistant registrars. The first of September and at which 95 Tuesday, August 3, 200 industrial girls from Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Florida will assemble at Blue Ridge to attend the industrial conference of editors of religious papers, council of the Y. W. C. A., which will last for ten days. Miss Merle D'Aubigny, a young French woman who became interested in Y. M. C. A. work during the war and came to the Y. W. C. A. national training school at New York last year to study, will be one of the most interesting speakers at this conference. She will return to France in the fall and continue the association work among her own people. Another speaker will be Miss Dula Davis, a mill worker from Spartanburg, S. C., who attended the Washington Industrial conference last fall and will give a report of it. The morning classes scheduled include the Rev. Richard W. Hogue, Baltimore, Md., on "A Working Faith;" Miss Grace Coyle, Philadelphia, of the east central field committee of the national board, on "Through the Centuries;" Miss Emma Zanzinger, general secretary from Richmond, Va., on "Mark;" Miss Elsie Heller, of Richmond, student secretary of the South Atlantic field committee, on "Ser-

Forest, N. C., will lecture on eugenics. E. L. Wolslagle, of Asheville, will lead in a special evening community singing during the week of August 11 to 17.

The Sunday speakers will be Dr. Geo. Stewart, of Birmingham, Ala., August 8; Dr. Ashby Jones, Atlanta, August 15; Dr. Richard Hogue, of Baltimore, Md., August 22; Dr. James I. Vance, Nashville, Tenn., August 29. Evening speakers announced include Dr. Edgar J. Banks, Alpine, N. J., who will give a series of illustrated lectures on archeology as it applies to the Bible; John E. Edgerton, president of the Tennessee manufacturers' association, who will speak on industrial readjustment in the south; C. A. Rowland, of the Presbyterian Layman's Movement, whose subject will be "The Layman and His Money;" President H. A. Morgan, of the University of Tennessee, who will speak on "Problems of Rural Leadership," and Mrs. T. W. Bickett, Raleigh, N. C., who will discuss "Woman's Part in the Moral Reforms of the South."

Interdenominational. Blue Ridge is under the general direction of an interdenominational committee of 21, of which P. S. Gilchrist, of Charleston, S. C., is president; F. C. Abbott, Charlotte, N. C., secretary-treasurer and Dr. W. D. Weatherford, of Nashville, Tenn., executive secretary. C. H. Hobbs, of Asheville, is chairman of the business committee and Fred Kent a member of the board of directors. The Blue Ridge association was formed in 1906, when 952 acres of land were purchased at a cost of \$11,500 for the purpose of establishing an institution in the center of the south for interdenominational Christian conferences and training. Two hundred and thirty-nine acres were later purchased at a cost of \$850, bringing under the control of the association practically all the land which might by improper use have become an annoyance to future conferences. Approximately half of the outlay for land has been reimbursed to the association by the cutting of several thousand cords of wood and more than 1,000,000 feet of timber, much of which went into the buildings on the grounds.

**DR. A. M. MOORE  
MAKES STRONG AP-  
PEAL FOR SOCIAL  
JUSTICE TO BLACK  
MAN**

*Raleigh 4-10-20  
Independent*

The following address delivered by Dr. A. M. Moore, Pres., of the N. C. Mutual Life Ins. Co., before the Conference on Social Welfare at Goldsboro was characterized by the some of the white press as "dark" and unappreciative.

(Continued from last week.)  
There is a pronounced tendency on the part of the white people to

discriminate against the darker weakness and recognize the fact that the rapid advance of the race along more resentful of their presence, al-commercial lines in removing him though they may be cultured and from church influences. One of the educated. This is having a disastrous effect by damning everything black and elevating everything white and by creating the desire in color- ed people for lighter-skinned children. Thus black men have been choosing women of lighter complexion, and the last census showed that 25 per cent of the Negroes are mulattoes. Thousands of them have bleached their skins. This all means that as Negroes become lighter in complexion they cross the color line and become amalgamated and lost in the white race. Thus the whitest man does indirectly what neither the Negro, and today it is very difficult to secure funds from the North for any other than industrial desire is not for amalgamation; he has pride of race and of ancestry and desires to build his own civilization beside that of the Anglo-Saxon without hindrance or limitation. The South is losing its opportunity The Negro desires and is entitled to make a religious impression on to receive greater consideration from the growing youth of the land. The the Christians of America. The silence of the white pulpit and its failure are wholly inadequate and the states ure to throw its force against lynch- are not doing their duty. The young ing and lawlessness calls forth severe criticism from the Negro pul- all professional education and us- pit. The Negro minister is often in- ally do not come back to the old con- efficient, but he is a loyal leader of an important group of our citizen- ship and should be helped by the white pastorate. A broader spirit should be shown toward him. Recently, at a great state organ- ization of Christian ministers in a certain town, a committee of Negro preachers went to the church and sat in rear, unoccupied seat. They were immediately invited to the gal- lery. The eagerness with which Negro ministers took hold of the church world Movement shows their desires for help. They know they received many decorations for brav-

er. The drift of the race toward commercialism and away from the church is largely because of a lack of trained leaders; and this in turn is due to inadequate provision for education, especially in the higher branches. The South has repeatedly told the North it was looking after the Negro, and today it is very difficult to secure funds from the North for any other than industrial schools; while the South does not sustain a single college for Negroes that receives Class A rating. On the other hand, every State in the South has its excellent white university.

The South is losing its opportunity to receive greater consideration from the growing youth of the land. The the Christians of America. The silence of the white pulpit and its failure are wholly inadequate and the states ure to throw its force against lynch- are not doing their duty. The young ing and lawlessness calls forth severe criticism from the Negro pul- all professional education and us- pit. The Negro minister is often in- ally do not come back to the old con- efficient, but he is a loyal leader of an important group of our citizen- ship and should be helped by the white pastorate. A broader spirit should be shown toward him. Recently, at a great state organ- ization of Christian ministers in a certain town, a committee of Negro preachers went to the church and sat in rear, unoccupied seat. They were immediately invited to the gal- lery. The eagerness with which Negro ministers took hold of the church world Movement shows their desires for help. They know they received many decorations for brav-

At the present stage of the Negro's development, the attitude of our National leaders toward our soldiers and service men has been most humiliating and difficult to understand. They evaded the appointment of surgeons, nurses and staff officer for Negro soldiers. The Negro was considered as necessary in the great struggle, and it is said that one dollar of every five given in the various "drives" in the south, was given by Negroes. They furnished their quota of fighting men and their received many decorations for brav-

The eagerness with which Negro ministers took hold of the church world Movement shows their desires for help. They know they received many decorations for brav-



ery; their loyalty was unquestioned. Yet, in the triumphant parade in France, the American Negro soldier was not permitted to participate, although the black colonials of other nations were in line. In the Pantheon de la Guerre, in Paris, where the achievements of the allied armies are shown in a painting, representing the history of the war, it was ordered that there should appear no face of a black American, although black colonials and Indians are represented. The impression is left that the American Negro is a degraded set and unworthy to have any historic recollection or remembrance.

This strange turn from the policy of rewarding the valor and self-sacrifice of good citizens can only be seen in those in authority. Perry on Lake Erie, with his loyal black supporters, Chrispus Attucks on Boston Commons, San Juan Hill and Carrizal cannot be faded from the American mind nor from the annals of history. In the face of this illustrious history and the glorious achievement of the race, the Negro's star will not be dimmed. He is determined so to live that these war-lords of hate will have to do a lot of explaining in the future to their sons who inquire why the deeds of the Negro have been obscured by the prejudiced historian.

In conclusion, the only enduring basis of race relations must be one founded upon the teachings of Jesus Christ. Justice, mutual respect, brotherly love and Christian charity must be the corner-stones, and any structure reared thereon will be substantial and will withstand the dry rot of hatred and the disintegration of prejudice and misunderstanding.

There must continue the fine relationship between the white and colored leaders of this State. The Negro needs the civilization ideals, standards and culture of the white people, and most of all, their kind

personal sympathy. The white man in dealing with the race question in this country. They are extermination, deportation, indifference and Americanization. It is the social worker's interpretation of Americanization, which the Star editor approves, that strikes one as being highly significant. "It means the education of the whole community—white citizens as well as black—in love of country, obedience to its laws

good citizenship, fairness to all." An acknowledgment that there must not be a double standard of citizenship of Americanization in the ultimate solution of the problem. "It calls for better education for Negroes, with their schools as well equipped and as efficiently administered as the schools for white children. It means justice in the courts—which is too often denied the Negro actually, though granted theoretically. It means economic justice, wholesome and decent living conditions in cities everywhere."

Those are just the things that thinking Negroes are asking for, and it is refreshing to see white persons giving emphasis to their demands, because there is a class in authority and in the ascendancy in the South that raises the cry of "social equality" every time the Negro asks for civil justice, economic justice, equal school facilities and wholesome and decent living conditions. We have them here in our own community—men who know better, but know also that raising the issue of social equality is an effective way to throttle and suppress the Negro's just demands—men who impute to every colored man or woman who dares to ask for a decent American chance, a desire for "social equality." Until a broader and juster interpretation is placed upon the efforts of both whites and blacks at race adjustment the exterminators, deporters and indifferent will continue to muddle things.

THE NEGRO'S FUTURE IN THIS COUNTRY  
Two factors enter into the equation of the negro's future in this country: one is himself and the other is his white neighbor—the latter of whom is

composed of races; nationalities from all parts of the world; but the determining factor is the negro himself. Upon him more than anyone else, lies the ultimate destiny of the negro group in this country. After all has been said and done, the main question that confronts us is: "What shall we do with ourselves?"

It has been said that the intellectual, moral and educational of every individual must be chiefly his own work, and what is true of the individual is true of a collection of individuals or race. Experience and history teach that only those people occupy a high place in the world's civilization who realized that they had to take the initiative and become the architects of their own fortunes. This has been true from the earliest dawn of the progress of mankind down to the present time. We need only point to the great powers who are now leading and governing the world. They have done it by struggle, sacrifice and patience. We will come into our own by pursuing the same course. It cannot be obtained in any other way. It is a price that the gods have placed on all great things, and it is only those people who have been willing to pay the price attained the great end sought.

It seems to the Independent that the negro had all these concomitants. He is patient, ambitious and optimistic by leaps and bounds, but there is no such thing as failure. The negro believes in his future, and the very fact that this hope ever swells up in his breast a strong presumption in favor. It amounts almost to proof. The signs of the time point to a racial awakening of this fact, having made the greatest progress within the last fifty years of any people on earth. He believes that there are great things in store for him, if he will work it out with great fear and trembling. He realizes more and more that he must take the initiative and work out his own salvation, by trusting in himself and Almighty God, who help those who try to help themselves.

The National Association for the advancement of colored people, which met in this city is a case in point. It shows conclusively that negro leaders have reached the conclusion that if they are to secure their rights, they must contend for them, that they must not wait on others, but must get busy themselves. They agree with the poet who declared, "Know ye bondsmen, who would be free, himself must strike the blow." The men and women of the National Association for the advancement of colored people who met here last week showed that they have learned this truth and are governing themselves accordingly, and the race will learn it more and more as time goes

The only sure way to interest others in our struggle for liberty and justice is by stirring up ourselves and making supreme efforts to secure them. One thing was brought out by the deliberations and discussions which took place in the great meetings held here last week, namely: The whole country is being aroused and the conscience of the nation is being awakened. Every right that has come to any people has been done by arousing public conscience and the sympathy of mankind for fair play. This cannot be ignored in the achievement of great results, especially those of human rights. Public sentiment must be awakened and turned in the direction of justice and square dealing of man to man. It cannot be accomplished in any other way, and that is just what the National Association for the advancement of colored people is doing in the great meetings which they are holding, composed of black and white alike. But we repeat that the chief factor in working out the negro's future must be chiefly his own work.

It is gratifying to the Independent to know that our leading men and women have learned this valuable lesson. Let them continue to remember that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The National Association for the Advance of Colored People is growing by leaps and bounds, but there is room for more. Let every negro who believes in the future of the race become a member, remembering that in union there is strength. Let them always bear in mind the fact that in order to accomplish great things and to enable us to come to our own as a people, that it must be done through organization and concentration of forces. If we will avail ourselves of these forces which are within our grasp, the future of the race in this country is assured.

NEW YORK CITY GLOBE  
JUNE 14, 1920  
**Negro Exodus Approved.**  
Editor Globe:—I think it was Senator France who said some time ago the land that was given to the United States in Africa should be accepted and turned over to the Negroes of this country where they could go and form their own government. I think the result would be good for the whites as well as the blacks. With the fast increase of the Negro in numbers and intelligence along with the undemocratic acts of this country toward him, I fear in the near future serious trouble will arise. If Negroes are to live in this country they must be treated as men, and since they cannot get that treatment through their loyalty or process of the law, I am afraid we shall awake one morning to find twenty million negroes battling for their rights.  
RANDOLPH M. LE GALL.  
New York, June 9.



General Analysis

**Dr. A. M. Moore, of Durham, N. C., Makes Telling Address Before State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. Tells of Injustices to His Race**

8/7/20

(Special to Journal and Guide)

Raleigh, N. C., July 27.—The recent bulletin issued by the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare carries the full address of Dr. A. M. Moore, of Durham, made before that body at its recent meeting in this city. He spoke on the "Proper Basis of Race Relations," and told in a plain and emphatic manner of the true conditions as they affect the relationship of the two races in the South. He said in part:

"During the period following slavery there was a spirit of helpfulness and personal interest on the part of white people toward colored people that does not now exist. No farm or household was complete without its Negro cabins, and the master and mistress took a personal interest in their employees, taught them to read their Bible and to write and to live upright lives. The colored people also felt their master's interest to be their own.

"But as time went on the Negro laborer was put on a salary basis, which was small, because of the impoverished condition of the South, and this minimized his personal interest in his job and in his employer. Negro women went to manage their own households in Negro settlements, and left behind the hired girl who did not continue the old attachment to her white mistress.

This girl, because of her weakness and because of the unfortunate position in which she was placed, became the victim of the passions of her white overlord, and a race of mulattoes was begun. This so enraged the white mistress, with her higher moral standard, that she thrust from her and from her heart the dishonored mother; and from that day she came to hold in light regard the virtue of Negro women.

"Then followed the period of estrangement, leading down to the present. White women came to hate black women and to give that hatred to their children. Likewise, black women bore a deeper hatred because it was colored by a terrible social injustice to her and her offspring; and she taught that offspring to distrust and to hate white people.

"The Negro woman went through a period of suffering and despair, as an atonement for her sin in permitting herself to be overcome by her employer; and she has purged her soul and strengthened her Christian character to an extent that white women have not yet come to recognize. This failure to acknowledge the atonement of black women for the sins of the

past must be recompensed in the future by the white women of the South, before the races can come to the fullest self respect.

"In the period of estrangement following the Civil War, the entrance of the freedmen into politics served especially to deepen the hostility between the races. Without commenting upon the grosser irregularities, the errors and injustices on both sides, I may mention the one thing that has remained the most harmful to my people. The white politician began then, and has kept up ever since, a campaign of vilification and abuse which has magnified every fault and minimized every virtue of the Negro. He sowed the spirit of hatred which is reaped today in the utter lack of understanding on the part of both races. I do not at all obscure instances of misuse of the ballot by the new voter; but the Negro with his natural love for his recent master, would have overcome the vicious and unscrupulous elements in his race, had the unscrupulous white politician not made capital out of his ignorance.

"Even since the elimination of the Negro from politics the tirade is unabated and his condition has been made worse. He was advised to turn to business, education and religion, and he has done so. But it has only intensified his hardships, because he is stripped of all political power and incapable of checking the drift of sentiment against him. The life of the educated and thrifty Negro is today cheaper than it was in the days of slavery. He feels today that he is driven away from his property often because he owns it. Churches, schools and lodge halls have been burned down and fine homes dynamited because of ill will against the owners. In many communities Negroes will not accumulate property for fear of having to leave it at any time.

"Now, for instance, the growth of lynching, which has helped to make life for the Negro insecure and dependable upon the whim of the mob. Since 1889, 3,308 persons, nearly all Negroes, have been lynched, some of whom were women. In 1919, 77 Negroes were done to death by hanging, burning, shooting, drowning, beating and cutting, four of these occurring in our own State.

"It used to be charged that lynchings only followed cases of rape, but of the 77 persons lynched last year, only 19 were alleged to have committed this unmentionable crime. The others were killed for various reasons, many of them frivolous.

"It has also been thought that this hideous crime was the expression of a desire for social equality. I believe it very clearly is not. The mind of a rapist is steeped in ignorance, debased by hatred and debauched in the

desire for revenge. Like a mad dog, men and women, while colored passers-by he runs amuck in the community, seeking whom he may devour. If this crime was an expression of the desire for social equality, it would occur among the class of Negroes corresponding more to the Anglo-Saxon type, as it usually does not. It is also noteworthy that this crime existed generally between the races; and that friendly white people who help the Negro and who are often in contact with them are never the victims. And lynchings usually occur in districts where the races are farthest apart.

The effect of a lynching is far worse on the white race than it is on the race of the victim; for only one Negro is lost to his race, but a thousand murderers are turned loose on the whites with fiendish passions and lusts aroused to be satisfied on white and not black people.

"Another thing much misunderstood is the matter of segregation. There persists a mistaken feeling on the part of many white people that Negroes desire to live among them. The thought that the Negro simply wants better surroundings and modern improvements, such as may be found in any white neighborhood and are not usually found in any colored section, never seems to be considered. There is no objection on the part of Negroes to separation itself so long as that separation is not promulgated on the theory of inferiority and is not used to deprive the Negro of improvements which he is entitled to have as a taxpayer. The whole tendency on the part of the Negro is toward a natural selection of his own kind, even among his own race; and removal from among whites is prompted by a feeling of loneliness for his own and a desire to avoid friction.

"But the penalty for this natural human desire is unwholesome surroundings and indecent environment for the rearing of Negro children, because of the failure of those who make the laws, collect and appropriate the taxes and govern the cities, to improve and police Negro sections, and to take a genuine interest in the community life of the race. The segregated district has meant in the past, unsuitable living quarters, a higher mortality, especially of children, increased insurance rates on life and property, inadequate lighting, policing, sewerage, and drainage.

"It has recently happened in my own home city, during the influenza epidemic, that the streets of our isolated Negro sections were so muddy that automobiles could not make deliveries of soup and medicines after they had been prepared for the sick. There are entire counties in Mississippi and other parts of the South without any whites at all; but these districts are uncared for and are taxed without any representation.

"Similarly, the 'Jim Crow' car has meant inferior accommodations, travel, filthy coaches, waiting rooms and toilets; often only one toilet for

men and women, while colored passengers pay the same fare as white passengers. The principle upon which the 'Jim Crow' car is established, that of racial superiority, is iniquitous and a humiliation to every one who is forced to submit to it. But the humiliation of the 'Jim Crow' car is small as compared to the humiliation of the 'Jim Crow' spirit that dominates every walk of the Negro's life. If only the white people would think of the lofty position they occupy in American civilization, they would certainly see that it requires no emendations.

"At the present stage of the Negro's development, the attitude of our National leaders toward our soldiers and service men has been most humiliating and difficult to understand. They evaded the appointment of surgeons, nurses and staff officers for Negro soldiers. The Negro was considered as necessary in the great struggle, and it is said that one dollar of every five given in the various 'drives' in the South, was given by Negroes. They furnished their quota of fighting men and received many decorations for bravery; their loyalty was unquestioned. Yet, in the triumphant parade in France, the American Negro soldier was not permitted to participate, although the black colonies of other nations were in line. In the Pantheon de la Guerre, in Paris, where the achievements of the allied armies are shown in a great painting, representing the history of the war, it was ordered that there should appear no face of a black American, although black colonials and Indians are represented. The impression is left that the American Negro is a degraded set and unworthy to have any historic recollection or remembrance.

"This strange turn from the policy of rewarding the valor and self-sacrifice of good citizens can only be explained by the freakishness of those in authority. Perry on Lake Erie, with his loyal black supporters, Christian Attucks on Boston Common, San Juan Hill and Carrizal cannot be faded from the American mind nor from the annals of history. In the face of this illustrious history and the glorious achievement of the race the Negro's star will not be dimmed. He is determined so to live that these war lords of hate will have to do a lot of explaining in the future to their sons who inquire why the deeds of the Negro have been obscured by the prejudiced historian.

"It must be realized that the Negro, as a worthy citizen, wants for his fullest, though separate, development all those things that go to make a full man. He wants complete justice in the courts and in all the dealings of the races. He wants equal advantages for education and for mental and spiritual growth. He wants to be thought of as a man and not as a 'problem'; and he is anxious and will-thought, if the handicap of his color is removed. We are striving to operate Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s

"The drift of the race toward commercialism and away from the Church is largely because of a lack of trained leaders; and this in turn is due to inadequate provision for education, especially in the higher branches. The South has repeatedly told the North that it is very difficult to secure funds from the North for any other



social settlements and other social agencies that will supplement the work of the Church. In this we need your help, moral and financial. The masses of our people must be trained, first of all, in human standards of conduct; and white people of every community should help the colored people to maintain such regenerating agencies.

The Negro pleads with the white woman, especially to open her heart and look upon her black sister with compassion and to recognize the struggle she has made against the worst elements of both races. The black woman it has been truthfully said, is the tragedy of the race. No heart has been as hers has; no honest effort to live a clean Christian life has been so unrewarded. If our good white women will only shoulder a part of the load this woman has to bear, there would be indeed a happier day for race relations in the future. There are millions of our wives and daughters who have nothing in their lives to be ashamed of. The greatest stigma today that a colored woman can receive from society is that which associates her with a white man in immoral relations. Yet, our women never have the satisfaction of knowing that other women have faith and confidence in them.

"The Negro asks the white man to extend the ballot to properly qualified persons as a guarantee of their full protection. He does not desire to rule but he does desire to share in the government of his country, and he would not be a worth while citizen if he did not. He believes that the spirit of lawlessness has arisen from his helplessness and that it cannot be checked until his white friends make him a full citizen and give him proper presentation in the government for which he is ever ready and willing to give his life. The white man is also asked to remember that it is indeed unjust to deprive every intelligent, honest and upright colored man of the highest privilege of citizenship because of the errors of his ancestors in the distant past.

"There are, broadly speaking, two classes of Negroes; those who hope for a brighter day and are willing to trust God for a change, and those who are thinking less of God and more of self help. I need not tell you that my trust is in God and in the white man's confidence.

"Unless the spirit of hatred is supplanted in the hearts of the rising generation by a spirit of love, the future peril of racial separation and loss of contact will result in much bloodshed and suffering, the burden of which has ever fallen upon the weaker people. All of this can be and will be avoided, if only both races will adopt the spirit of Christ and live together as two races and one Nation should. Unless this is done, Christianity and our civilization must fail.

"We thank God that the Negro is 100 per cent American. The red flag of Bolshevism and anarchism has never disgraced the cabin door of a black man and never will. He who charges that we are in sympathy with

the advocates of force or retaliation, except in necessary self-defense, underestimates our intelligence and knows not the mind of the Negro who was never more determined to live within the law than today. Recent evidences of the supremacy of law shown by actions of the Governor of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and other Southern States is a double guarantee of the rights of every citizen, white or black, who trust their cases to her. We therefore mean to deal justly and live uprightly and die at the altar of your civilization, pleading for a man's chance.

"We ask not for yours, we are content with that which rightfully belongs to us and shall not be satisfied with less; the giving of which enriches us and does not impoverish you. We plead tenderly and humbly with your noble women that they heed the outcast Hagar's prayers for restored confidence and strengthen the bonds of sympathy and compassion in her unfortunate condition, and she will do her part in making the old world anew.

"The wormwood of bitterness, sorrow and hatred which is being poured into the lives of the youth of both races, even from their birth, is displacing the sweet innocence of childhood and the blighting seed of hatred sown with the youthful hearts are overshadowing the noble impulses of life, filling our courts and prisons with human wreckage in every county, and these precious souls who learned to hate before they knew the power of love are pulling down the synagogues of Heaven and out of the ruins thereof are erecting the synagogue of Satan.

## The Negro Domination Scarecrow

By Drucilla Dunjee Houston

I used to wonder why the white man with his 100,000,000 people should pretend to fear the mangled Negro group of 12,000,000. As I grew older in anger and larger wit prejudice spelled fear. If we are ever to better the relations between black people and white people, we must attack this cancer-eating at the heart of national brotherhood with the surgeon's knife of truth. Southern editorials say, "There is something about the Negro, that warns us to keep him down. When we come in real contact with the Negro there are remarkable things about him, that in the light of his supposed jungle ancestry, cannot be explained. His remarkable mechanical ability, his genius in music, the subtle philosophy of the 'old Negro' are all hard to explain and the average white man demonitates it as impudence.

In the rank of Negro leadership there is astounding ignorance of what the Negro was in the past ages of the

world. "The Negro" by DuBois and the Journal of Negro History has not received from them a glance; yet they are certain they are prepared to lead the Negro to his destiny and blaze their pathway he must follow to fulfill his purpose in God's plan. Until we understand the Negro, who can say what shall be his place in the sun?

The cry of "Negro Domination" has not sprung from naught. The educated white man has extracted from the pages of history, all the way marks pointing back to prove that the wonders of the Orient were the produce of black hands. The pre-historic races which light the torch of civilization of Egypt, Greece and Rome were black. Many of the white makers of history are unaware of these facts.—Others purposely seek to cover them.

The Phoenicians never knew themselves under such a name but called themselves Ethiopians. So carefully has white scholarship re-written and overnamed ancient people that with the starting point of Egypt for general history that it is very difficult to find out anything about Egypt teachers, who were black. When the curtain of history rises the civilization of Egypt was hoary. Why is the historian so silent about what lay behind? Because it was a black empire that ruled three continents for 3000 years.

These things are carefully hidden from black people today for fear that knowing, that black men might rise, and again dominate the world. Well might they fear the descendants of those ancients, who built stupendous cities, whose ruins extend in uninterupted succession along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Engineers of today do not know by what power those immense stones were lifted or by what magic they were so perfectly fitted.

The ancient Cushite Empire gave to the world the principles upon which republican governments were founded. Its wonderful foundation stones were equality, temperance, industry, intelligence and justice. Negro scholarship find no richer vein than the pouring over duty out of print yet authentic documents, even going back to the original sources from which the white man has drawn facts of ancient history to teach the Negro the things about himself, that he ought to know.

You may read for an afternoon in a public library for a line really crediting the Negro. This is the condition of present day books. Those upon Africa and Africans team with revolting traits of the African debauched by the white slave trade: but to him of patience who has a purpose, at times he comes upon singular traits in the unruined tribes evidences of a marvelous earlier civilization.

He who loves his race will paint telling, painstakingly these great traits making clear the wisdom in the development of the genius of the Negro as bitterly needed to help solve some of the problems which are the consternation of white civilization today. To reveal to white men the true

### Ford Fights Disease.

### Where's Jackson's

### Democracy?

PITTSBURGH PA PRESS

JANUARY 10, 1920

by Arthur Brisbane

Important, because it will influence the human race a thousand years from now, is Henry Ford's start in fighting the most horrible blood disease that attacks the human race. Scientists predict that, if not checked, this disease ultimately will wipe out the white races, leaving dominant the yellow races, that have proved themselves immune.

Future history may write about the day when Henry Ford sent to Germany for 50,000 tubes of "salvarsan" long after it stops writing about our present Bolshevik bogey strife.

Thursday night the Jackson day-equal diners told you why they think they ought to be elected president on a Democratic ticket.

You heard from Republicans, too, the other day. Did you hear anything convincing?

There might be another dinner on the anniversary of Jackson's death, the subject of all speeches to be: "What became of the democracy that made Jackson say he would not allow one big bank to dominate the United States?" Jackson is no deader than Jacksonian democracy. Banks have grown bigger and statesmen smaller.

A Negro convicted of murder did not offer modern excuses—insanity or brain storm. He said: "The woman made me do it," and named the lady. Thus also Adam tried to excuse his apple eating: "Muller me decepsit." Like Adam, the Negro was convicted.

The other news in the Negro race is the divorce granted to a white woman who proved that her husband was a mulatto. He told her he was descended from Indian chiefs.

Why, in the estimation of whites, are Negroes, that fought the sun of the tropics for thousands of years and have done much good work in the United States, less acceptable than Indians, that fought only heavy bisons on the north, and have had to be supported by their Uncle Sam? The answer is that labor as yet is not really respectable. Negroes work. Indians do not.

New York's legislature, imitating the lower house of congress, throws out five members elected on the Socialist ticket. It reads now:

"The majority rules, unless a local majority elects a man that a bigger majority doesn't want."

### On Race Equality

Resolutions were adopted by the conference defining its stand on racial equality. It was submitted by Dr. C. M. Tanner of Washington, D. C., and read as follows:

"Resolved, That the General Conference, in regular session assembled, give the following expression of our faith, belief and position regarding the great question of racial division and racial solidarity, as follows:

"We firmly believe, reaffirm and steadfastly maintain the Bible teaching concerning the various race varieties and divisions in the human family.

"That there is but one race—the human race—and that no matter how much the peoples of this earth may vary as to color, hair, language, customs, laws or geographical location, God hath made of one blood all nations that dwell on the earth.

"We brand as false and pernicious the doctrine of any superior race or superman, except as opportunities, environment and education shall enable a man, group of men, a race variety, or a nation, to show improvement or hold sway over other men or groups of men. Given equal opportunities, the various race varieties have always shown equal capacity for improvement."

YORK CITY GLOBE

JUNE 25, 1920

### American Ideals for negroes.

Editor Globe:—May I express my gratification at learning, through the letter printed Saturday, of the existence of the Negro Foreign-Born Citizens' Alliance, and to offer my humble though unique service to this association? The letter says: "This loyal patriotic work of teaching the foreign-born Negroes of New York and vicinity American ideals and to urge upon them the study of American institutions and the noble traditions upon which this republic was founded," is hampered "in its scope through the lack of literature bearing directly on the subject," and calls upon interested patriots to supply propaganda handbills which will be not only distributed on the streets by the three hundred members of this highly laudable organization, but will be paid for by them.

I have not only great facility at writing propaganda leaflets, myself, but I also have a ouija board and I possess the rare gift of spirit mediumship, so that I feel sure that I might establish spirit communication with many, possibly even hundreds, of Negroes who have been recently lynched or burned alive, who, through me, would give such testimony as only they could give on the advantage of naturalization for all of those members of the Negro race whom God forgot and allowed to be born outside the confines of the United States.

ZELDA STEWART CHARTERS,  
Astoria, L. I., June 21.



# Symposium on "New Negro--What Is He?"

*of the New York Age.*

Readers of The Age Write On

Distinctive Qualities of the  
Negro of Today

A New Racial Unity

Opinions Advanced Showing that Present  
Conditions Have Developed Under-  
standing and Determination.

An editorial in The New York Age of January 24 asked a question as to the "New Negro--What Is He?" and suggested that readers of The Age might give on paper a fair sample of the qualities that go to make up the New Negro.

The question evidently struck a responsive chord for there have come to the editor a number of letters discussing the matter and offering opinions on qualifications of the New Negro. These letters are interesting, not only because of the various points of view given, but also because of the manner in which the subject is treated.

The first and last paragraphs of the editorial are reproduced as follows:

## NEW NEGRO--WHAT IS HE?

Every now and then we come across a reference to the "New Negro," which provokes the inquiry what and who is the new Negro, and in what particular does he differ from the Negro of the past. What virtues has the newcomer that the Negro of yesterday, or the day before, did not possess?

The Negro of the past generation made a pretty fair record of achievement in the various lines of diversified activities opening to a newly emancipated race.

It may be that the new Negro signifies the development to the highest degree of the good qualities of the past, enriched and stimulated by the fuller opportunities of the present.

But we would like to be introduced to a concrete example of the new Negro, in order that a fair comparison might be made with some of his antecedents. As the

introduction need not be personal, perhaps some of our readers can give us on paper a fair sample of the qualities that go to make up the new Negro.

We await the portrayal with expectation.

Among the letters is one which declares that the "New Negro" is found in the great unrest, and that the spirit now aroused will never be quelled or subdued by acceptance of a few political plums or pleas for equal accommodations. This writer declares for the elimination of blind or selfish, ignorant or criminal leadership.

Another writer gives as outstanding characteristics of the "New Negro," Spirit of Independent Unity, Racial Understanding and the Self-Defending Negro. He declares that the Negro of today is not wondering about what he is going to get, but is determined to get what he should have always had and never got.

Below are reproduced several of the letters received.

## WHAT IS "THE NEW NEGRO"?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK AGE:

You ask in a recent editorial for comment anent the "New Negro." The "New Negro" or "New Consciousness awakening in Negroes" is but a reincarnation of the spirit that died with men like Frederick Douglass and women like Sojourner Truth. Whether you know it or not, your paper contributes largely to the evolution of a "New Negro" through Mr. J. W. Johnson's editorials and your treatment of news. All through the South, on the border of which I live, there is a steadily growing feeling finding lodgment in the minds of the masses of Negroes that there is something rotten in society, that the steady decline and fall of the Negro from the high point during reconstruction days following '65 has been largely due to blind or selfish, ignorant or criminal leadership somewhere. This does not imply that the leaders in the field of industrial training were at fault for the work of making the Negro an efficient economic factor was necessary.

The spirit of the "New Negro" is found in the great unrest. It will never again be quelled or subdued by the acceptance of a few little political plums handed its prominent men, nor will pleas for equal or better accommodations satisfy its longings. It opposes these self-delegated spokesmen who, in cringing, favor-seeking mood, propagate a theory of self-acknowledged social inferiority for the gratification of the enemy. This "New Negro" is fast learning that the dog-like, lick-spittle, devotion-to-master spirit is not a virtue of freemen and is not loyalty, and has gained nothing for the Negro mass but further oppression and ill-treatment, forcing him down to sullen serfdom.

Also, the Negro laborer in the past has been told that when he owns as much property as his white brother, or pays taxes upon as much land, then and not until then will he possess the rights that the other has. The mass labor is absorbing new thought. The workman is beginning to see that his constant labor is necessary to the wealth of his employer, and he intends to make his labor mean more for himself. He accepts the principle of no segregation, fights the leaders who regard the established custom as fixed and immutable, and who advise Negroes to be satisfied with equal accommodations. Only twelve Republicans thought the Jim-Crow car a menace to the race, and yet the party claims our loyalty. Some people are suggesting that we help celebrate the day on which Crispus Attucks fell and yet fifteen millions of his race pay about one-fifth of the taxation through their labor, and have no representation in national government.

Finally, Mr. Editor, just live for a short while among the Negroes who do not suffer the benighting influences of the leadership they are fast discarding, and you will discern the spirit of a new type of Negro who bids fair to take a manly part in this government in a short while.

E. B. HENDERSON.

R. D. 13, Falls Church, Va.

## THE NEW NEGRO IN POLITICS.

To the Editor of The Age:

For many obvious reasons, the gathering to be held at Chicago on June 8 will prove to be the most important Convention held by the Republican Party since the days of Reconstruction. It will be a reconstruction Convention essentially, inasmuch as it will afford a sort of referendum for the determination of our future foreign policy; secondly, it will evolve some new and constructive middle ground for adjusting the differences between capital and labor; and finally, it will foreshadow the new political era which is to mark the gradual disintegration of both the great parties as political units. It is for these very reasons also, that this epochal event may hold for the colored citizens of America a significance beyond the hope of our fondest dreams.

But so much has been said and written of the conduct or misconduct of the colored men who have been privileged to share in the deliberations of National Republican Conventions in the past that a timely word of warning from the Negro press of the country, to both the members of our own group as well as to the national party powers, may help to guide us safely over the pathway along which we must tread.

## A New Opportunity.

Colored men should be admonished that the economic and political reaction consequent upon the world war offers a new opportunity for not only disproving the calumnious imputations of mediocrity, purchasability and absence of political conviction but for the acquirement and retention by a judicious use of the franchise, of those rights and privileges which it alone can effect. Moreover, the just recognition of our boys in Europe should heighten the hopes and readjust the point of view of those who make a practice of politics for revenue only. The party powers on the other hand should be admonished that the intelligent growth and self-respect of our population the country over is demanding emphatically a type of leadership and a measure of recognition which no one of the great political parties of today have yet been willing to approve. In other words, with the advent of world citizenship has come the so-called "New Negro" in politics with a more uncompromising interpretation of political and civic justice. He will not be cajoled or excited by platform platitudes and rhetorical fervor. He seeks both good government and proportionate participation therein.

In the appointment of Mr. James Weldon Johnson to the new platform advisers of the National Republican Committee, Chairman Hays evinces a hopeful appreciation of the new conditions. And it is earnestly to be hoped that through the constancy of the Negro press and the better known men with whom Mr. Johnson is to be associated,

the National Party Powers will not lack in their effort to stimulate and meet the new demands for political and civic righteousness.

LUCIUS SUMNER HICKS,  
Formerly Asst. Corp. Counsel  
City of Boston.

## "CONGRESSMEN WANTED."

To the Editor of The Age:

I read your editorial, "Congressmen Wanted," in a recent issue with much interest, and I think it should be read by every Negro voter, especially those in Harlem. If my memory serves me right I think the Republican Legislature a few years ago so gerrymandered the Congressional districts in Harlem as to divide the Negro vote in order that there would not be a majority of Negro voters in the Republican Party in any district. I predict that when any Congressional district in the North is likely to have a Negro majority the legislature will see to it that it is gerrymandered.

Every Congressional district in the North is entitled to two delegates to the National Republican Convention. Two of the Congressional districts in Harlem should have at least one delegate each. This electing an alternate at-large, or an alternate for a district means nothing. It is simply throwing a bone to the Negro. The Negro wants the substance, not the shadow. There may have been others but I cannot recall but one Negro who was elected as a delegate to a National Republican Convention from the North and that was Atwood of Michigan some years ago. If we cannot find a Negro of "Congressional calibre and character" we certainly ought to be able to find two Negroes of "calibre and character" to represent the Harlem districts. It is said that the Negro population of Harlem is near 100,000. Not to be able to produce two Negroes of ability to represent such a large population is a reflection on their intelligence and their boasted advancement. The average delegate to a National Convention is a nonentity, a few leaders transact all of the business. The "Old Guard" ran the Conventions of 1912 and 1916 and will run the Convention of 1920.

## The New Negro.

I was also very much interested in your editorial, in the same issue, "New Negro--What Is He?" You referred to Langston and Dr. Crummell. Gen. R. B. Elliott, the most brilliant figure of the Reconstruction period and the greatest all-around man of ability the race has produced, graduated from Eton College, England, and afterwards studied law. Mr. Cardozo who was Secretary of State, then State Treasurer, and afterwards Principal of the High School, Washington, D. C., graduated from Glasgow (Scotland) University. The scholarly Straker, a West Indian, was also a college graduate, and there were others, among them being Greener, now living in Chicago, a graduate of Harvard, I believe the first Negro from that seat of learning. I challenge any person to name six college graduates of



the present day to compare favorably with the six noted above. The men I have named were real leaders, men with a following, representative men. They did not think because they were college men that they should hold themselves aloof from their fellow man.

I think the college graduate of the present day is troubled with an inflated ego, or he does not possess those qualities that go to make for leadership. If he has those qualities he shows lack of ambition. There is only one way to attain leadership and that is through politics, as evidenced by the white man. Take the case of Dr. Washington. Before President Roosevelt invited him to that dinner and made him the spokesman for the race, he was a very much abused man. He went from city to city and there was no politician to meet him and carry his valise, and few even knew where he stopped. In fact the politicians were not in the least interested in him. But what a change came over the politicians after he entered the political game. Everywhere he went he was acclaimed a great political leader. Those who were so intense in their bitterness toward him when they found out that there was no political advancement for them without his endorsement, became his most sycophantic followers.

Where is the man to compare with that greatest of all Negroes, Frederick Douglass?

About three years ago Mr. Work of Tuskegee Institute requested me to furnish him some data pertaining to the reconstruction period in South Carolina. I quote from that article:

"When I compare the present political leaders in South Carolina with those of the reconstruction period I must confess that we have retrograded politically. Not only in South Carolina, but where would you find in any State at the present time political leaders who can measure up to the calibre of Elliott, Rainey, Cardoza, Straker, Swails, DeLarge, Bosemon, Wright, Ransier, Lee, McKinlay, Cain, Whipper and Wilder?"

"When the race can again produce political leaders of the type named then we may look forward with some degree of hope for a solution of the Negro problem."

#### First Negro Congressman.

I think you are in error in your inference that Jefferson Long was the first Negro member of the U. S. House of Representatives. Georgia was not represented in Congress after the war until the 42nd Congress. Mr. Rainey was seated in the 41st Congress, 3rd Session, to fill the vacancy caused by the non-reception of B. F. Whittemore, and served longer than any other Negro. The Congressional Directories will bear me out in this contention. Mr. Rainey was the only Negro Congressman who presided over the House of Representatives. Mr. Blaine, then Speaker, extended him that courtesy. Mr. Rainey had another honor bestowed upon him, that of being the nominee of the Republican caucus for clerk of the House of Representatives. I will add that the

House was democratic. It was an empty honor, but it showed the high regard in which he was held by his colleagues.

There is as much difference between the Negro leaders of the reconstruction period and the present day Negro leaders as there is between the white Republican leaders of the reconstruction period and the white Republican leaders of the present day.

In those days there was no Frank Hitchcock with a lot of Southern delegates rounded up to be delivered to the candidate with whom he could besticker.

No cause can be advanced by the suppression of truth. Col. Roosevelt wrecked the Republican Party in 1912 for a principle, and at the time of his death he was the acknowledged leader of that party.

Any Negro can denounce the democratic party. The democratic party cares nothing for the Negro nor has the Negro any use for the democratic party. It requires courage for a Negro since 1876. The politicians are to cowardly to do it. "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master crib." We can rely only upon such newspapers as THE NEW YORK AGE to speak out boldly.

H. A. WALLACE.  
245 W. 139th street, N. Y. City.  
**MR. SHILLADY WEAKENS.**

The New York Crisis, in its issue for August comments upon a remark made by the brilliant and energetic Mr. John R. Shillady, in his letter tendering his resignation as Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is quoted as saying:

"I am less confident than heretofore of the speedy success of the Association's full program, and of the probability of over-coming, within a reasonable period, the forces opposed to Negro equality by the means and methods which are within the Association's power to employ."

The Crisis says:

This is the frank judgment of a white man of high ideals and broad sympathy who came to our problem with thorough training in methods of social uplift. For two years he has studied the Negro problem from a peculiar vantage ground, knowing it without and within, making close friendships with black folk all over the land and studying their problem through thousands of calls and letters.

What it took Mr. Shillady two years to find out, we knew a decade before the great organization with which he was affiliated was organized. Much that Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the very

able editor says should have been left to Mr. Shillady to utter. This distinguished northerner made the same mistake that northern and western theorists make. They are of the opinion that the antipathy to the Negro is only towards the Negro. They do not know that the same class of southerners, who dislike the Negro, hate the northerner ten-fold more, who takes the Negro's part.

He labored under the impression that because he was a white man and had access to the white men's theatres, churches and hotels, he was immune to the treatment to which a Negro would be subjected. As a matter of fact, those Texans would accord help to their own Negroes and permit them certain liberties that they would not accord to him. In Texas, as, certain Negroes had and have certain influential white friends, men with whom they played as boys, who will protect them from harm. Mr. Shillady did not have a single friend in the whole of Texas, except those Negroes who admired him, but who were unable to protect or defend him.

Mr. Shillady was energetic and evidently expected to see the rising sun of equality for all American citizens, not only during his lifetime, but during his term of office as Secretary of the Association. He seemed to forget that one hundred years is a brief time to bring about a great reform. No one organization can do it. The only power that can do it is that possessed by the American people. It is the purpose of such an organization to arouse this sentiment today and tomorrow and the next day and the day thereafter and so on as long as life lasts and to have our descendants to take up the reins of our endeavor where we left off until the reform wins a way in the world and is enthroned in all of this land.

Dr. Du Bois concludes:

We called to our aid one of the best of America's social workers. The haters of black folk beat him and maltreated him and scarred him like a dog because he tried to talk quiet reason to Texas. Here is the problem and what will white men do about it?

All great reformers have travelled the same course. John Brown died up

on the gallows. Wendell Phillips was maltreated and abused. Charles Sumner nearly lost his life in a similar effort but none of them weakened in their efforts. Even Frederick Douglass was about to weaken when that noble woman exclaimed: "Frederick, God is not dead." Mr. Shillady is lucky to have escaped with his life. Dr. Du Bois is right when he says:

Here is the problem and what will white men do about it?

We conclude with, Here is the problem what will the American people, irrespective of race or color, politics or religion do about it?

**"KEEP THE NEGRO DOWN"**  
By Associated Negro Press.

Southern editorials say, "There is something about the Negro, that warns us to keep him down. When we come in real contact with the Negro there are remarkable things about him, that in the light of his supposed jungle ancestry cannot be explained. His remarkable mechanical ability, his genius in music, the subtle philosophy of the "old Negro" are all hard to explain and the average white man demonitates it as impudence.

In the rank of Negro leadership there is astounding ignorance of what the Negro was in past ages of the world. "The Negro" by DuBois and The Journal of Negro History has not received from them a glance; yet they are certain they are prepared to lead the Negro to his destiny and blaze the pathway he must follow to fulfill his purpose in God's plan. Until we understand the Negro, who can say what shall be his place in the sun?

The cry of "Negro Domination" has not sprung from naught. The educated white man has extracted from the pages of history all the way marks pointing back to prove that the wonders of the Orient were the product of black hands. The pre-historic races which light the torch of civilization of Egypt, Greece and Rome were black. Many of the white makers of history are unaware of these facts. Others purposely seek to cover them.

The Phoenicians never knew themselves under such a name but called themselves Ethiopians. So carefully has white scholarship rewritten and renamed ancient people that with the starting point of Egypt for General History it is very difficult to find out anything about Egypt teachers who were black. When the curtain of history rises, the civilization of Egypt was hoary. Why is the historian so silent about what lay behind? Because it was a black empire that ruled

three continents for 3,000 years.

These things are carefully hidden from black people today for fear that knowing black men might rise and again dominate the world. Well might they fear the descendants of those ancients, who built stupendous cities, whose ruins extend in uninterrupted succession along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Engineers of today do not know by what power those immense stones were lifted or by what magic they were so perfectly fitted.

The ancient Cushite Empire gave to republican governments were founded. Its wonderful foundation stones were EQUALITY, TEMPERANCE, INDUSTRY, INTELLIGENCE and JUSTICE. Negro scholarship can find no richer vein than the poring over duty out of print, yet authentic documents, even going back to the original sources from which the white fan has drawn facts of ancient history to teach the Negro the things about himself, that he ought to know.

You may read for an afternoon in a public library for a line really crediting the Negro. This is the condition of present day books. Those upon Africa and Africans teem with revolting traits of the African debauched by the white slave trade, but to him of patience who has a purpose, at times he comes upon SINGULAR traits in the unruined tribes, evidences of a marvelous earlier civilization.

He who loves his race will paint tellingly, painstakingly these great traits making clear the wisdom in the development of the genius of the Negro as bitterly needed to help solve some of the problems which are the consternation of white civilization today. To reveal to white men the TRUE NATURE OF THE NEGRO will remove fear. Through time black people have been creative, temperate and fair. Give him a CHANCE and he will pull a brother's part in the problems and responsibilities of today.



# General Analysis THE COST OF LIVING AND NEGROES

The Negro  
(By ARTHUR E. KING)

When we speak of the high cost of living, we mean that the quantity and quality of goods and services we receive in exchange for a given number of dollars is below what it used to be, or we may mean that the same services we rendered previously does not exchange for the same amount of goods.

But before we inquire into the factors that enter into this cost of living, we must keep before us the fact that while the cost of living as measured by the various index numbers, has been continually rising since 1915, the standard of living in America has been rising in some directions. The consumption of silk, candy, pleasure automobiles and other articles classed as luxuries is steadily on the increase; moving picture houses are multiplying at a rapid rate. So we have a higher cost of living as well as the demand partially satisfied for a higher standard of living. The high cost of living is due primarily to the destruction of capital and the dislocation caused by the war. The cumulative effect of world-wide under-production of goods and world-wide political instability are both operating to keep up the high cost of living. Added to this we have the demand for a higher standard of living by many repressed classes and peoples; the breakdown of transportation on land and sea all over the world; the drain on resources by military expenditures, amounting in the case of Japan to one-half of the current year's budget; the enervating influence of Socialism; the depreciation of currencies and the use of war loan certificates as near-currency; the higher cost of doing business due to a higher price level and the inefficiency and extravagance of Governments.

A noted banker told us some time ago that we are a nation of economic illiterates, which is quite true. When people speak of the high cost of living they think only of the profits of this or that union. They should also consider that the isolation of Russia and the dismemberment of Germany affects this living cost, as well as the demand of African and the Japanese for shoes.

Speaking particularly of the United States we find the increased cost of living somewhere between the low of New Zealand and the high of Russia. But the cost of living here is much higher than it should be after we take into account conditions outside of its border.

The notorious extravagance and laxity of the Federal Government and its political sub-divisions is a matter of common knowledge. Washington has increased the cost of living by the banks of the unskilled, which, by debauchery and graft in sugar; the un-

explained height of wheat products in spite of the grain corporation; the waste and lack of policy in the shipping industry; the absence of a budget and the breakdown in transportation. With the sole exception of Illinois, the least said about the political subdivisions the better. Urban transportation has broken down along with national because we invariably have to choose between municipal ownership and inefficiency or corporation ownership and the cry of exploitation. Philadelphia and Cleveland appear to be fortunate in their traction problems, but nowhere have we heard of a combination trolley and jitney service functioning with satisfaction. The truth is we need scientific bureaucrats and politicians acquainted with economics.

Leaving the political we come to the industrial. Here we have a falling off of primary production, a steady urban trend; an endless series of strikes and a disproportionate amount of credit tied up in speculation. In the investment field we have been neglecting the prime necessities of housing and transportation, whilst investing enormous sums in movies, candies, etc. The automobile and oil industries appear to be over-capitalized. It is this deficiency of necessities and this well-filled shelf of luxuries, this misuse of credit and unwise investment; these endless strikes and fat profits that is becoming heavily on the nation's purse. But, moreover, labor turn-over is great; absenteeism is becoming chronic; hours are being shortened; distribution and terminal costs exact a heavy toll; taxation is unscientific and social unrest in the shape of Socialism and a Negro problem retards production. The student who ignores the part this neglected 10 per cent, 95 per cent of whom are prime producers playing in national production, is ignoring a vital factor.

A writer in a recent number of the Crises speaks of "the loss we sustain in art, in community life, in politics," but not a word of the economic. There is a loss of production occasioned by the fact that members of this group cannot freely emigrate from industry to industry owing to the prejudice of both capital and labor—union and non-union. There is further loss owing to the fact that segregation prevents them moving from district to district, compelling immobility clerical help is not employed. Negroes in the South are accused of inefficiency. If they are inefficient it is simply that they are ill-paid because they are inefficient. They are not even paid the rate of their efficiency, because they are black.

In other sections of the country the capable mechanic is relegated to the ranks of the unskilled, which, by depressing the group, causes lack of in-

terest and some times sub-normal production of overlapping energies and the repression of necessary institutions. This repression is expressed in Socialism because when the nation put up the bar at Washington and Wall Street, energies naturally turn to Lenin and Moscow, adding to the cost of living.

With so many factors beyond ourselves. There can scarcely be any appreciable reduction in price level; we must pay for our daily bread and rather, we may go to higher levels. Even if political stability of a kind obtains in Europe, shortly the cost of living will probably attain a higher level because of the fact that the cumulative demand for American goods will rush to be satisfied. With this air in Washington when we can't vote in Georgia? How can we influence production favorably when we are barred from producing to our full capacity, not being interchangeable in industrial units? How can we make producers be made under a system of peonage? These and many other things we cannot do because of our numbers and unfortunate position in this super-democratic nation. But we can surely do everything in our power to remove our disabilities in order to assist ourselves and the nation to function properly. The conditions above stated are, so to speak, external. We can, however, by constructive effort and co-operation within our group reduce the cost of living to us. This can be done only by putting the whole group on a sound economic basis by efficient production and the wise use of its fruits. We must organize every community on a business basis and link them up nationally and internationally. We must be possessed of initiative and learn to compromise our internal difficulties. We must pay for and obtain wise leadership and be plastic in their hands. There is more propaganda than truth in "the nemesis of docility." We must force on our drones and pessimists a new philosophy—one of constructive optimism. And above all, let us worship efficiency.

But how shall we start in our effort to reduce the cost of living? It would appear that in order to attain the maximum results from co-operation a permanent central body should be elected which would study the situation as a whole. To merely advocate corporations and co-operative societies would be to overlook the human factor involved. The body we have in mind would be one comprised of five principal departments, namely: Political, economic, religious, education and social service. In addition to these departments—which would naturally be in charge of one specialist—prominent citizens will represent the public at large.

This body would collect information, obtain suggestions and recommendations from its specialists, work out the details and present its constructive program to the public for endorsement. This would provide an opportunity for discussing the economics which could be effected by the elimina-

tion of the army and those left at home. They did every thing they could to help out, and yet they could have gone on the side of the North and have been rewarded by their freedom months before they did get it, but they were true and faithful to the ones they had grown to love.

At last when the negro gained his right to be free, he was altogether unprepared for it. The mother did not know how to care for her children. The father did not know how to do things for himself, because he had always done the bidding of some one else. So when the right to vote was given to the slave, he was unfit to comprehend the meaning of it and he rushed into politics and soon the white people had to take away some of their rights. He strutted about with stove pipe hat and cane and thought he was just it. It was during this time that many crimes were committed by the negro, who thought they had the right to do any thing they wished.

It is not strange however that the negroes made such a failure when they had not been taught. What they needed first was the training in some good trade by which they could earn an honest living, but the "South" was in a bad condition and could not spend time to do it. But instead schools were started and the negro learned fast, but this did not prepare him for his work in the world. Booker T. Washington said: "That there were ten young women and men who could speak French to every one that could do something to earn a living, and that very few negroes owned the houses in which they lived or the soil they tilled."

Even through all these trials, the negroes have made some progress. They have become able to care for themselves and many are doing a wonderful work in the world. Yet in the South today, the Negro is an inferior and does not mix with the White people. He has separate schools, churches and trains. In the North, at the present time, they are treated very well. They have a right to go anywhere they wish. Negro and White children go to the same schools, study the same books and take the same parts in life. Should we look down upon these people who have come through such trials? No, we should help them to become better citizens, for whatever injures the government, injures the people in an indirect, or direct way, and there is a time coming when the negro is going to take an important part in the affairs of American Life.

The character of the Negroes was brought out in this war. While Southerners were away fighting against the "North", the Negroes stayed and worked and worked hard too, to prepare food

## AMERICAN HISTORY

442. HAMILTON, N. Y., REPUBLICAN

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### SELECTED ESSAYS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

#### "The Status of the Negro" by Camilla Skinner

The first negroes were brought to America in 1619. They did not come because they wished to, but because they were compelled to. The negroes found themselves for the first time, slaves of the white people. Because of the plantations and the cultivation of rice in the south, slaves were in demand, and so the number increased greatly, for every southern planter had to have slaves, if he wished to be long to the Aristocracy. However it was different in the north, the people did not need slaves, and where slavery did exist, the slaves were treated with the best of care and only in a few cases were they punished cruelly by the whip and the lash. Of course, there were laws to obey, as there would have to be, but the southern laws were too cruel. The southern master thought it profitable to work his slaves to death in one season and get new ones for next year's work.

For a time slavery was allowed everywhere. Then the northern people began to think it cruel and soon afterwards it was forbidden above the Mason-Dixon line. Feelings between the "North" and "South" after this were not the best. However the Northern people did not try to make the Southern people give up their slaves but just to keep the territories free from slavery. Dispute after dispute broke out and war was the result.

The character of the Negroes was brought out in this war. While Southerners were away fighting against the "North", the Negroes stayed and worked and worked hard too, to prepare food



# What Happened When Race Hatred Lifted Its Head

AUGUST 29, 1920

By Joseph Anthony.

**D**URING the series of race riots and lynchings in Chicago, Washington, Knoxville, Vicksburg and other cities that stirred the country recently, there was one man who traveled in the wake of the disturbance in each community, silently observing and gathering facts. The man is Herbert J. Seligmann, a veteran newspaperman and the author of "The Negro Faces America." The story of his undertaking is an unusual one.

"My investigation was a double one," declared Mr. Seligmann, seen at his New York home. "I had to see first hand, of course, the strange outburst of atavism that is called a race riot. But I had a notion also that the view of the Negro held by the ordinary peace-loving American citizen might not be altogether a correct one, and I consulted anthropological studies of the Negro, in addition to my investigation in the field. I came back from it convinced that the United States has taken one of its greatest human assets, the Negro, and converted that asset into its greatest menace. The conception of the Negro that is definitely accepted by many white people in America today is a series of weird distortions, made up of a combination of narrowness, economic motives, and uncritically accepted legends. The worst, and the most profoundly false, of these myths is that the Negro man is apt to be an erotic. Another—and this is an element of what I have called the color psychosis of the south today—is that the Negroes who served in France were 'spoiled' by French women. In point of fact, Negroes serving in France hankered for a sight of colored women. Still another—and of the absence of proof of this nothing will convince the average man—is that the Negro is inferior to the white man racially and therefore cannot be treated on a basis of equality.

"It was with no idea of publishing a book that my attention was first attracted to the Negro question," declared Mr. Seligmann. "One of my assignments as a reporter in New York not very long ago happened to be to an amusement park in the Bronx, where something of a local controversy had been started by the exclusion of a Negro. I was interested in the case as a significant human story, and I told the truth as I saw it—which was that racial discrimination had been carried to the heart of New York, and that an issue was to be made of it. My paper took the part of the

Negro. The case was fought out in the courts. But for me, at any rate, the matter did not rest there. My curiosity was aroused, and I was determined to learn more about the black folk who seemed to be making so precarious a home in this white man's land. The quest took me to some strange corners of the country.

"In the story I tell you now I am not going to name places," continued the author of "The Negro Faces America." "In my book I told what I saw in the cities where the greatest of America's recent race riots were staged. It would endanger the lives of several men—black and white—to tell precisely how I got certain parts of that information. But, without mentioning names, let me tell you what I saw and heard in one southern city where they roasted a Negro alive last June. When I got there I could feel an atmosphere of tension in the way men met and looked at one another on the streets. I struck up a conversation with one of the policemen. 'Oh, yes,' he assured me, 'Everybody knew there was going to be something doing. It looked that way for a day or two past. The crowd knew the police would not shoot.'

"I had with me a letter of introduction to a certain colored man in the town, given me by a northern Negro. I decided to find out what the colored man knew about the mob murder. I asked a colored citizen whether he knew where I might find this man. He may have put two and two together from the questions I had been asking, or his alertness may have been abnormally quickened by the events of the last day or two. At any rate, he looked at me and said, simply, 'Don't go there.' Then he proceeded to tell me just why it would be unhealthy for any stranger from the north to be seen getting inquisitive about the recent Negro burning.

"But I went to the house of the Negro who had been named and presented my letter to him. He took the letter, read it, and walked with it to an open grate at the other end of the room and watched until every corner of the writing paper and envelope was burned to ash. Then he said to me, 'Go home.'

"However, I managed to get the story, as that Negro was able to tell it—how a Negro had been accused of attacking a white woman, with the usual lack of proof—how the talk had gone about town that a lynching was just about due, and how this very man talking to me had seen the mob, with bloodhounds, go past his door, knowing that innocent as he was, if a bloodhound stopped at his door he would be taken and tortured to death.

Then came the carnival of horror that was seen out in one of the pleasant residential streets. In the Negro quarter doors were still barred and shutters down on all windows, white fury not having been quite appeased.

"That afternoon I got the view of another resident—a white man and a physician. I went to him with an ailment specially designed for the occasion, and it served the purpose. As he was advising me about the condition of my health, we got into a friendly conversation, and, as I had expected, it turned to the recent lynching without my making the first move. Yes, the doctor said, philosophically, they had been having a little excitement in town. It seemed that a certain white man had been in the habit of visiting a white woman—the woman never was any good, he said, parenthetically. But one day things got to the point where the woman was concerned about her reputation, such as it was. She gave out that she had been attacked by the Negro. He, the doctor, knew that the man that had been roasted to death was innocent.

"I don't know whether I did anything to show surprise at the calmness with which he told this side of the story. At any rate, he suddenly shut up like a clam, and looked at me appraisingly. The next thing he said was, 'You know, we don't discuss these things with northerners here.'

"It was 5 o'clock when I left the doctor's house. My train was due to pull out at 10:30. The intervening hours were anxious ones. I noticed that several men who had been watching me curiously at the hotel, were hanging about the station. They did not speak to me, but their eyes never seemed to leave me for a moment, and the crowd was growing. When I finally did board my train, without interference, and pulled out of town, I saw my colored citizen friend again. He told me that he had been watching me for hours, ready to send a telegram for military help if things developed as he had thought they would at any moment.

"There is scarcely any need of going further into the repellant details of race riot towns as I saw them. I cannot tell you, for obvious reasons, how I got my facts in some of those places. But half an hour after I left a prominent Negro in one town, a bullet came flying through his closed shutters. In yet another town I found every door barred in the Negro quarter, the blinds drawn on every window, and determined men standing by the doors within. They had had wind of the attack before it came, and had sent their women and children

to an amusement park away from the city. They were ready to protect their homes. Perhaps that was why in that particular case the attack never did come.

"I am glad that things happened to me that piqued my curiosity about America's much talked of and little understood race problem," concluded the author of "The Negro Faces America." "If only the curiosity of the great American people could be aroused as mine was, and they could see the things that I saw, the day of a new understanding might be near."

## RACIAL PROBLEM

## AIRD BY FRIENDS

PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC LEDGER  
JULY 13, 1920

Dr. Dillard Tells Shore Conference Education Is Chief Solution of Trouble

Cape May, N. J., July 12.—Education was emphasized as the chief solution for the race problem, by Dr. James H. Dillard at this morning's session of the Friends conference. "We are all colored and white, only fifty years out of slavery," said Doctor Dillard, who is president of the John F. Slater fund for establishing county training schools throughout the South. "The amount of money the poor colored people themselves contribute toward these schools is marvelous," he told the Friends, "and the self-sacrifice and devotion of the colored teachers, who are graduates of Tuskegee, Hampton, etc., make them worthy to be spoken of with the saints and martyrs."

The Slater Fund began by financing four training schools in 1913; this year, they will report having assisted more than 150. The most hopeful sign is that the state boards of education in the southern states and the local people are now co-operating with these educational efforts.

"Deplorable as lynchings are," said Doctor Dillard, "we must remember that there are not many people engaged in them and there is some hoodlumism everywhere. The race problem will be solved by educated religion, when all believe and practice Christ's teachings."

"Isaiah used advertising methods," asserted George A. Walton, principal of George School, in continuing his course on the methods and quality of leadership as portrayed by Bible heroes. "He put up a tablet, or poster, when he was trying to persuade his nation against allying itself with the Assyrians. The inscription meant 'swift booty, speedy prey,' and then Isaiah gave his newly born son the inscription for a name."

In speaking of St. Paul, Doctor Walton said his success in spreading Christianity was due to his ability to make the most of every opportunity. "The

magnetic force of his personality was the outcome of God's power in his heart, and this power can be acquired by each one of us," said Doctor Walton.

Two round-table discussions preceded the regular sessions. George H. Nutt, of George School, in the conference on "Friends' Principles," denounced the "unmitigated abuse of people," citing the Nation, the New Republic and similar publications. "It is nothing short of blasphemy," he said, "to think every one is wrong but ourselves." He advocated compromise in efforts to obtain unity and progress, though not compromise of principle.

"What shall we do about our prisons?" was the topic discussed under the leadership of Anna M. Michener, who has recently been doing extension work with Columbia University. "The stories of cruelties in our prisons brought back by the conscientious objectors have aroused anew the interest of Friends in prison reform," said Miss Michener. "What we need today is a scientific study of the effect of the present system on the prisoner and on the guard. Can it be said that prisons accomplish their purpose when we have the assertion of Mr. Miller, Thomas Mott Osborne's assistant, and his successor as warden at Sing Sing, Dean Kirchway, that the prison is recruited from Elmira Reformatory?"

She urged Friends to take up this study, for which their reputation for disinterested service is reconstruction work has especially fitted them.

"Our ordinary daily work is also holy and essential to God," said George A. Walton, principal of George School, at the evening session of the Friends' conference. The subject of his address was, "Living Our Faith at Home, in Social Mingling and at Work."

"There is always a call for special service," he continued, "but it is also holy work to keep up the physical side of our nature, without which the spiritual would never be enabled to develop."

The speaker emphasized how absolutely dependent we are on each other, and even for the simplest meal we call on the labor of men of many countries. "Brotherhood is, therefore, an essential fact in the economic world," he said.

"The liquor traffic is absolutely doomed by the fact that we demand so many things in our modern life which formerly would have been considered luxuries. We have no time to take into our systems that which slows us up when there is so much to be done. The keeping of the physical life is as holy in the sight of God as the great services given by some. Everything in God's business and all which tends to accomplish His work is equally holy."

NEW YORK CITY GLOBE  
JUNE 25, 1920  
Negro Betterment.

Editor Globe:—The Negro Foreign Born Citizens' Alliance should have written to you asking you to urge the white people to study American institutions and the noble traditions upon which this republic was founded, and to carry out the ideals that spring from them. Negroes to-day have no time to study anything, that is of no use to them, and the worthy Alliance should turn its activity in another direction that would benefit all Negroes.

I suppose they have not heard of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Let me assure them that Negroes

are studying the ideals of that association which I know will be for the betterment of Negroes.  
RANDOLPH M. LE GALL.  
New York June 20.



# Comparative Study.

**THE JEW AND THE NEGRO** will not give a colored patient a and humiliation of the Negro race. private room, the University of Department stores in this city, owned principally by Hebrews, while willing to accept colored people's money, have made provisions absolutely obnoxious and have even refused them the ordinary courtesies that any other customer would demand.

Rev. Dr. William Rosenau, in the Maryland will not admit colored students to its law, medical and dental courses and the doors of the Maryland Institute are barred to the race.

None of the commercial organizations will admit colored people to membership and it is claimed that the United Railways will not let colored people ride in its buses on Charles street, nor man its street cars.

Contrasting the marked prejudice shown in many European countries against the Jew with that of the milder and almost hidden brand in America, he said: "I do not know but that I prefer the European type of anti-Semitism. In Europe the Jew recognizes his enemy as an enemy and can defend himself. In this country the Jew does not know his enemy, especially when the enemy, because of particularly selfish interests, poses as a friend."

He called attention to the fact that local Mystic Shriners will not admit a Hebrew to membership, likewise the Rotary and Merchants' Clubs. Certain private schools will not admit Hebrew students and Jewish folks are not permitted to live in certain neighborhoods and in some apartment houses.

The people of Jewish descent are a most important factor in this and other communities. They are benevolent and patriotic to a fault. Many are leaders in business and the professions, yet this unreasonable prejudice exists.

But while Dr. Rosenau is righteously indignant, he might well reflect a little on the hundred-fold more prejudices and humiliations that the Negro suffers.

In Baltimore Johns Hopkins University, doubtless disregarding the intentions of its benevolent founder, will not allow colored students to enter. Colored women who would avail themselves of the superior advantages of Goucher College, a Methodist institution where even Japanese, Chinese and Jewish women may enroll, are pointed to Morgan College. The far-famed Johns Hopkins Hospital

When Presbyterian ministers gave a luncheon at the City Club a few days ago, at which a general discussion on church problems was to take place, the manager of the club refused to let two colored ministers attend the banquet, saying that it was against the rules.

A Republican School Board proposes unequal salaries for the teachers in the Colored High and Colored Teachers' Training Schools, when compared to that of white schools of similar grade. Colored schools, in equipment and salaries, are unfairly discriminated against in the counties.

Within the Republican party there are as many enemies against the race as there are Hoke Smiths, John Walter Smiths and others of that type in the Democratic party. That gave rise to the recent senatorial candidacy of W. Ashbie Hawkins, the sponsors therefore, to use Dr. Rosenau's own words, being tired of the enemy, "especially when the enemy for particularly selfish reasons, poses as a friend."

Excluded from activities looking to general community life, the colored people of this and other communities are largely a body apart. Where newspapers fail to arouse prejudice against the Hebrew, they have not the slightest qualms of conscience when it comes to arousing prejudice against the Negro.

It might also be added here that in many instances the race for which Dr. Rosenau pleads has often been in the forefront of movements tending to the discrimination

When the Colonial Theatre was occupied by an organization of colored players, members of the Jewish race were the first to organize a movement to have their permit revoked—not because they were disorderly, but because they were COLORED.

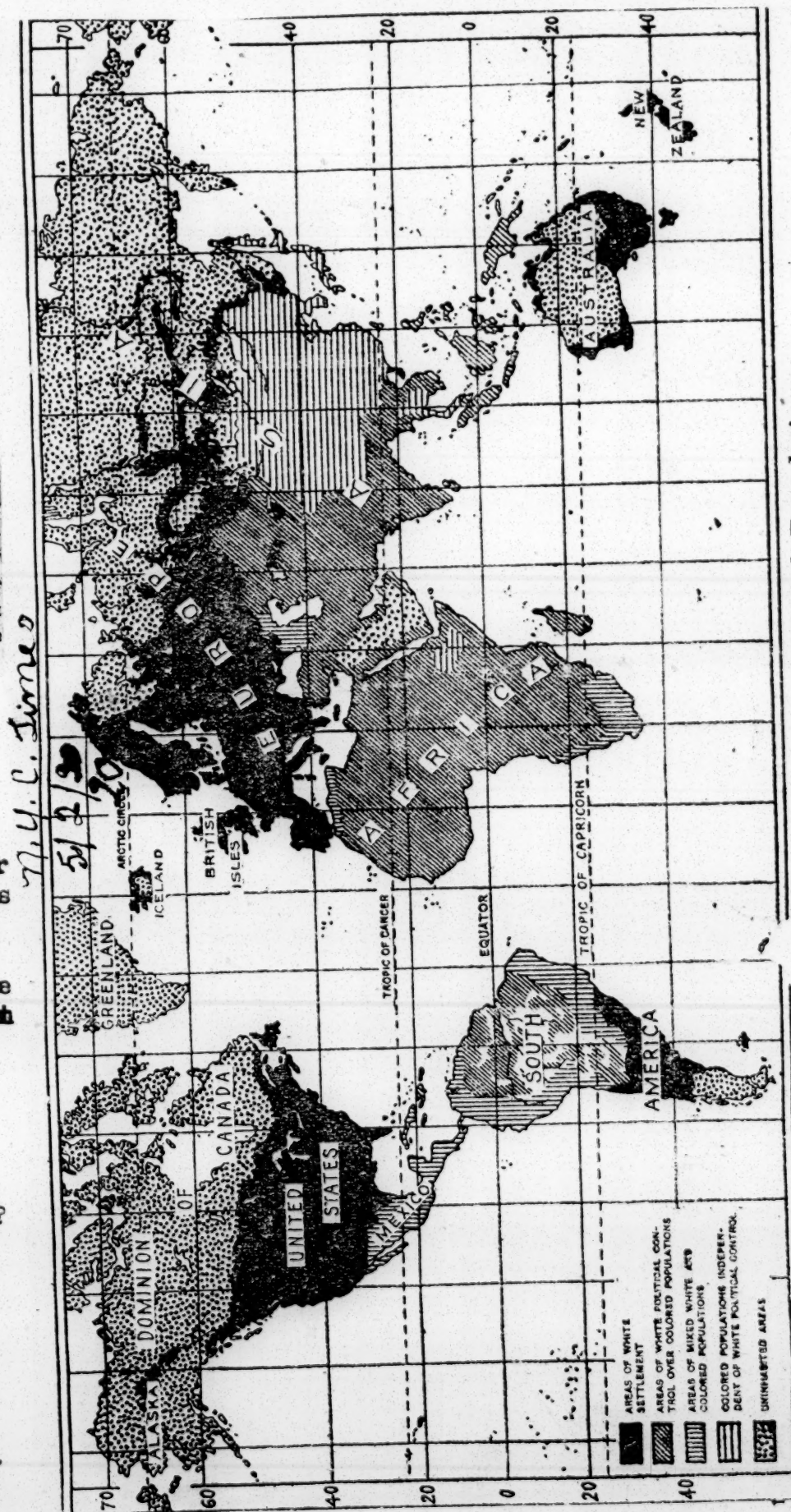
Dr. Rosenau has stated the case for his race well, and he would certainly receive more sympathy or his cause were it not for the fact that so many people know that he "oppressed" Jew is in turn an "oppressor" of the Negro.

In Black.

It was in Chicago. John Haynes Holmes was talking. He said: I met two children—one as fair as the dawn—the other as beautiful as the night. The n he paused. He had to pause for the audience guffawed in wild merriment. Why?

It was a colored audience. Many of them were black. Some black faces there were as beautiful as the night. Why did they laugh? Because the world had taught them to be ashamed of their color. Because for 500 years men had hated and dispised and abused black folk.

---The Crisis, Oct. 1920. p. 263.



World Distribution of White and Colored Populations

World Distribution of White and Colored Populations



# CAN WHITE RACES BE SUBMERGED BY COLORED HORDES?

Timorous Author Dreads Not Only Yellow Peril, But Sees Red and Black and Brown as Menace Japanese Ambitions, Indian, Turkish, and African Unrest Arouse His Fears

NEW YORK CITY TIMES

MAY 2, 1920

By T. R. YERKES.

"The white world stands today at the crossroads of life and death."

"The war was nothing short of a headlong plunge into white race suicide."

"As colored men realized the significance of it all, they looked into one another's eyes and there saw the light of undreamed-of hopes. The white world was tearing itself to pieces. White solidarity was riven and shattered. \* \* \* Through the bazaars of Asia ran the sibilant whispers 'The East will see the West to bed!'"

These sentences lie the pith of a new book, perhaps the most striking specimen of its kind since Professor Usher's "Pan-Germanism" burst upon us just before the war began. In this volume, "The Rising Tide of Color" (Scribners), the author, Lothrop Stoddard, advances the theory that the white race, unless it adopts drastic measures, is doomed—that it must withdraw from Asia lest it be ignominiously driven out. Weakened even before the war, terribly shaken by the ravages of the great conflict, it is now confronted with the peril of succumbing before the colored races—yellow, brown, black, red. These, unscathed by war and multiplying at a rate hopelessly outstripping the increase among whites, are everywhere showing signs of restlessness, race-consciousness and capacity for inter-racial solidarity. The author links up the various phases of the colored danger which he says is now threatening the foundations of white supremacy. He shows Japan with her eyes upon hegemony in Asia; China, suspicious of Japan, yet capable of being galvanized into aggressive nationalism; India, Asiatic Turkey and Persia, Egypt, Arabia and Africa, seething with discontent and open revolt, trying to join hands with the yellow men further east, and with the Bolsheviks, arch-traitors to the cause of white solidarity, in their Russian strongholds. He shows us Latin America, rent with discord, which Japanese imperialists already covet. Everywhere it is the same picture—white men tearing at one another's throats, their power ebbing away, their minds so blinded by intra-racial hatred that they cannot grasp the new danger; and, looking on scornfully, no longer imbued with the belief in white invincibility, constantly piling up strength, mastery of the white man's methods and hope of deadly revenge, the sinister masses of the colored races.

## Race as a Basic Factor.

The basic factor in human affairs is not politics but race, says Mr. Stoddard; the tendency to believe the reverse a dangerous delusion; those harboring it, viewing the world of today, would tend to conclude that never had white supremacy been more apparent. Yet the truth, he says, is far otherwise.

Instead of a world politically nine-tenths white, we see a world of which only four-tenths at the most can be considered predominantly white in blood, the rest of the world being inhabited mainly by the other primary races of mankind—yellows, browns, blacks and reds. Speaking by continents, Europe, North America to the Rio Grande, the southern portion of South America, the Siberian part of Asia and Australasia constitute the real white world; while the bulk of Asia, virtually the whole of Africa and most of the world of color. The respective areas of these two racially-contrasted worlds are 22,000,000 square miles for the whites and 31,000,000 square miles for the colored races. Furthermore, it must be remembered that fully one-third of the white area (notably Australasia and Siberia) is very thinly inhabited and is thus held by a very slender racial tenure—the only tenure which counts in the long run.

The statistical disproportion between the white and colored worlds becomes still more marked when we turn from surveys of area to tables of population. The total number of human beings alive to-day is about 1,700,000,000. Of these 550,000,000 are white, while 1,150,000,000 are colored. The colored races thus outnumber the whites more than two to one. Another factor of capital importance is that the great bulk of the white race is concentrated in the European continent. In 1914 the population of Europe was approximately 450,000,000. The late war has undoubtedly caused an absolute decrease of many millions of souls. Nevertheless, the basic fact remains that some four-fifths of the entire white race is concentrated on less than one-fifth of the white world's territorial area (Europe), while the remaining one-fifth of the race (some 110,000,000 souls), scattered to the ends of the earth, must protect four-fifths of the white territorial heritage against the pressure of colored races eleven times its numerical strength.

## Colored Races Grow Faster.

There can be no doubt that at present the colored races are increasing very much faster than the white. Treating the primary race-stocks as units, it would appear that whites tend to double in eighty years, yellows and browns in sixty years, blacks in forty years. The whites are thus the slowest breeders, and they will undoubtedly come slower still, since selection after section of the white race is revealing that lowered birth rate which in France has reached the extreme of a stationary population. \* \* \*

Wherever the white man goes he attempts to impose the bases of his ordered civilization. He puts down tribal war, he wages truceless combat against epidemic disease, and he so improves communications that augmented and better distributed food supplies minimize the blight of famine. In response to these life-saving activities the enormous death-rate which in the past has kept the colored races from excessive multiplication is falling to proportions comparable with the death-rate of white countries. But to lower the colored world's prodigious birth-rate is quite another matter. The consequence is a portentous increase of population in nearly every portion of the colored world now under white political sway. In fact, even those colored countries which have maintained their independence, such as China and Japan, are adopting the white man's life-conserving methods and are experiencing the same accelerated increase of population.

The inevitable result will be, says the author, a tremendous and steadily augmenting emigration of colored men from their overcrowded homelands. Logically, they would tend to go into the emptier regions of the earth under white political control. But the white man forbids this; in consequence, "the rising flood of color finds itself walled in by white dikes debarring it from many a promised land." What is the result? He continues:

"The colored world, long restive under white political domination, is being welded by the most fundamental of instincts, the instinct of self-preservation, into a common solidarity of feeling against the dominant white man, and, in the fire of a common purpose, inter-racial differences tend, for the time at least, to be burned away. Before the supreme fact of white political world-domination antipathies within the colored world must inevitably recede into the background."

Taking up first the Far East, Mr. Stoddard writes of Japan watchfully waiting, fishing in troubled waters, one of the Allies yet far from hostile to the Central Powers, now that she holds Tsing-tao, wrested from Germany,

ing the primary race-stocks as units, ruthlessly aiming at domination of probably be at the very least the prompt expulsion of the white man from every part of the Far East. "That is what will probably come anyway as soon as Japan and China, unexpectedly quick ending of the war impelled by overcrowding and conscious of the united potentialities, shall have proved at a genuine understanding."

Whatever may be its ultimate goals, Japanese foreign policy has one minimum objective: Japan as hegemon of the Far East in which white influence shall have been reduced to a vanishing quantity. \* \* \*

Despite official felicitations, the nation could hardly disguise its chagrin. For Japan the war had been an unmixed benefit. It had automatically made her mistress of the Far East and had amazingly enriched her economic life. Every succeeding month of hostilities had seen the white world grow weaker and had conversely increased Japanese power. \* \* \*

Whatever may be its ultimate goals, Japanese foreign policy has one minimum objective: Japan as hegemon of the Far East in which white influence shall have been reduced to a vanishing quantity. \* \* \*

The notable progress that Japan has made toward the mastery of the Far East is written plainly upon the map, which strikingly portrays the broadening territorial base of Japanese power.

Japan now owns the whole island chain masking the eastern sea frontier of Asia, from the tip of Kamchatka to the Philippines, while her acquisition of Germany's oceanic islands north of the equator gives her important strategic outposts in mid-Pacific. Her bridge-heads on the Asiatic Continent are also strong and well located. From the Korean peninsula (now an integral part of Japan) she firmly grasps the vast parts of Latin America. But all these Chinese dependency of Manchuria, while outlets are rigorously barred by the just south of Manchuria, across the narrow waters of the Pechili Strait, lies the rich Chinese province of Shantung, become a Japanese sphere of influence as a result of the late war. Thus Japan holds China's capital, Peking, as in the jaws of a vise, and can apply military pressure whenever she so desires. In Southern China lies another Japanese sphere of influence, the province of Fukien, opposite the Japanese island of Formosa. Lastly, all over China runs a veritable network of Japanese concessions like the recently acquired control of the great iron deposits near Hankow, far up the Yangtse River, in the heart of China.

Whether this Japanese imperialism over China maintains itself or not, one thing seems certain: future white expansion in the Far East has become impossible. Any such attempt would instantly weld together Japanese imperialism and Chinese nationalism in a sacred union whose result would

can find an outlet for the surplus millions of their population in portions of Asia—such as the British Straits Settlements, North Borneo, French Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and Siam, where Chinamen, wherever they have had a chance, have already reduced natives to an impotent and vanishing minority. "Many ob-

servers," he says, "predict that most of these lands will ultimately become Chinese. \* \* \* It is estimated that the undeveloped portions of the Dutch Indies alone are capable of supporting 100,000,000 people living on the frugal Chinese plane. Their present population is 8,000,000 semi-savages."

Japan, on the other hand, cannot look to such regions as an outlet for her surplus population. Japanese cannot adapt themselves to foreign climates as can the Chinese; a fact which, Mr. Stoddard thinks, will prevent Siberia from being a solution of Japanese emigration problems even if Japanese troops occupy it permanently.

For Japanese migration neither the empty spaces of northern or southern Asia will do," he says. "The natural outlets lie outside Asia in the United States, Australasia and the temperate parts of Latin America. But all these outlets are rigorously barred by the white man, who has marked them for his own race heritage, and nothing but force will break those barriers down. There lies a danger not merely to the peace of the Far East but to the peace of the world. Fired by a fervent patriotism; resolved to make their country a leader among the nations, the Japanese writhe at the constriction of their present race-bounds. Placed on the flank of the Chinese giant whose portentous growth she can accurately forecast, Japan sees herself condemned to ultimate renunciation of her grandiose ambitions unless she can somehow broaden the racial as well as the political basis of her power. In short, Japan must find lands where Japanese can breed by the tens of millions if she is not to be automatically overshadowed in course of time, even assuming that she does not suffocate or blow up from congestion before that time arrives. This is the secret of her aggressive foreign policy, her chronic imperialism, her ex-

## Outlets for the Chinese.

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travagant dreams of conquest and world dominion." . . . "Whether Japan avows it or not her persistent aim is to gain mastery of the Pacific."

#### How They Are Linked.

Passing to the Near and Middle East—to Brown Man's Land—the author falls again into pessimistic arguments. The constantly growing solidarity, especially marked since the war, among the far-flung branches of the colored races. It is growing, he says, despite distance, despite differences of religion. Bound together by something subtle and intangible, the brown men of Asia everywhere face the white man in sullen hostility. Especially the leaders of Pan Islamism have their ears to the ground. "They know both Europe's strength and their own weakness. They know the peril of premature action. Feeling that time is on their side, they are content to await the hour when internal regeneration and external pressure shall have filled to overflowing the cup of wrath. This is why Islam has offered only local resistance to the unparalleled white aggressions of the last twenty years. This is the main reason why there was no real 'Holy War' in 1914. But the materials for a Holy War have long been piling high . . ."

The author even speaks of certain signs seemingly portending an understanding between Asiatics and Africans—in other words, a Pan-Colored Alliance against white domination; he also speaks of the great effect made on the Eastern world by Japan's rise to the position of a world power on a par with the great countries of the whites, of the strong admiration felt for Japan even by Asiatics whose religious tenets make them consider the Japanese idolatrous heretics. This tendency to forget religious differences for the sake of a common cause against the whites is also noticeable, he adds, among the Moslems of Brown Man's Asia and those belonging to other sects.

Then came the Peace of Versailles. It was just what the leaders of sullen Islam wanted. Now, they exultantly argued, they could knit their peoples together in moral solidarity, because "the Near and Middle East were subjected to European political domination as never before."

And here the spirit of self-determination evoked during the war, says Mr. Stoddard, came potentially to the help of those pan-Islamic leaders intent on smashing the white man's strangle-hold on the East. He writes:

"During the war years the allied statesmen had officially proclaimed times without number that the war was being fought to establish a new world order based on such principles as the rights of small nations and the liberty of all peoples. These pronouncements had been treasured and memorized throughout the East. When, therefore, the East saw a peace settlement based, not upon these high professions, but upon the imperialistic secret treaties, it was fired by a moral indignation and a sense of outraged justice never known before. A tide of impassioned determination began rising which has already set the en-

tire East in tumultuous ferment, and which seems merely the premonitory ground swell of a greater storm."

#### Weakness of the White Men.

Throughout this fermenting East, continues Mr. Stoddard, the white man's control is menaced by a fatal weakness: the fact that it is political, not racial. Nowhere in the lands of the brown man, he points out, is there a large white population except in the French colonies of Algeria and Tunis. Elsewhere, as an English student of Eastern problems wrote, there is "no white anything"—if white rule vanished tomorrow it would leave no trace behind. "Let the brown world once make up its mind that the white man must go and he will go," declares Mr. Stoddard, "for his position will have become simply impossible. This is not solely a question of a 'Holy War'; mere passive resistance, if genuine and general, would shake white rule to its foundations. And it is precisely the determination to get rid of white rule which seems to be spreading like wildfire over the brown world today."

Surveying Africa, the continent of the black man, Mr. Stoddard finds the danger not so great as with the yellow and brown man—but peril he finds, notwithstanding. One difference between the white man's status here and his status in Asia, he writes, is that there are in Africa large tracts where a white population has taken root. The crux of the African problem, he argues, is whether the white man, through consolidated racial holds in Northern and Southern Africa, will be able to perpetuate his present political control over the intermediate parts of the African Continent where he is debarred from planting colonies by the climate.

Against the white masters of Africa stand the champions of Islam, the Arabs from Western Asia, who have been active of late years in proselytizing among the Africans.

"The Arab and the European are, in fact, rivals for the mastership of black Africa," writes Mr. Stoddard. "The Arab had a long start, but the European suddenly overtook him and brought not only the blacks but the African Arabs themselves under his sway. It remains to be seen whether the Arab, allying himself with the blacks, can oust his white rival."

Islam has made steady progress in Africa, he continues—"every candid European observer tells the same story." Militant Mohammedanism has become a serious factor in the development of the fight for racial supremacy in Africa. Recently the British authorities in Nyassaland discovered that the Mohammedan religion was spreading at an alarming rate: investigation showed that this was due to the work of Zan-zibar Arabs. They began their work of making converts in 1900, and ten years later every village in southern Nyassaland had its Moslem teacher and its hut set apart as a Mohammedan mosque. "Although the movement was frankly anti-European," continues Mr. Stoddard, "the British authorities did not dare to check it for fear of repercussions elsewhere."

In addition to the anti-European Mohammedan propaganda among the natives of Africa, the author also calls attention to the work of the so-called Christian Ethiopian Church, which is frankly anti-white in character. Relations between whites and blacks are bad in South Africa, he adds, and are coming worse.

The yellow man has his eye on Latin America, says Mr. Stoddard. He writes:

"The Far East teems with virile and laborious life. It thrills to novel ambitions and desires. Avid with the urge of swarming myriads, it hungrily seeks outlets for its superabundant vitality. We have already seen how the Mongolian has earmarked the Far East for his own; . . . but mongrel America! What other field offers such tempting possibilities for Mongolian race expansion? Vast regions of incalculable, unexploited wealth, sparsely inhabited by stagnant populations cursed with anarchy and feeble from miscegenation—how could such lands resist the onslaught of tenacious and indomitable millions? . . ."

"Now, the yellow world is alive to this momentous possibility. Japan, in particular, has glimpsed in Latin America precious avenues to that racial expansion which is the keynote of Japanese foreign policy. For years Japanese statesmen and publicists have busied themselves with the problem. The Chinese had, in fact, already pointed the way, for during the later decades of the nineteenth century Chinamen frequented Latin America's Pacific Coast economically vanquishing the native with ease and settling in Peru in such numbers that the alarmed Peruvians hastily stopped the inflow by drastic exclusion acts. The successes of these Chinese pioneers, humble coolies entirely without official backing, have fired the Japanese imagination. The Japanese press has long discussed Latin America in optimistic vein."

#### Dilemma in Latin America.

He concludes his summing up of the Latin-American problem as follows:

"Latin America, like Africa, cannot stand alone. An inexorable dilemma impends: white or yellow. The white man has been first in the field, and holds the central colored zone between two strong bases, north and south, where his tenure is the unimpeachable title of race. The yellow man has to conquer every step, though he has already acquired footholds and has behind him the swelling reservoirs of Asia. Nevertheless, white victory in Latin America is sure if internecine discord does not rob the white world of its strength. In Latin America, as in Africa, therefore, the whites must stand fast—and stand together."

"Internecine discord." That, as the possible Nemesis of white supremacy throughout the world, is constantly harped upon by Mr. Stoddard. It is assailing a white world already ebbing in power, its idealism brushed aside by materialism, its birth rate decreasing. "That period," says Mr. Stoddard, "was dominated by two antithetical schools of political thinking: national imperialism and internationalism. Swayed

by the ill-balanced spirit of the times, not see it, he continues. Once more they relied on imperialistic secret treaties, drawn "precisely as though Armageddon were a skirmish and Asia the sleeping giant of a century ago." As a result, "the brown world, convinced that its aspirations can be realized only

force, turns to the yellow world and listens to Bolshevik propaganda, while pan-Islamism redoubles its efforts in Africa. . . . The white man, like King Canute, seats himself upon the tidal sands and bids the waves be stayed. He will be lucky if he escapes merely with wet shoes."

#### Safeguards Which Are Suggested.

What is to be done? The author advances the following as the "irreducible minimum":

"First and foremost, the wretched Versailles business will have to be thoroughly revised. As it stands, dragon's teeth have been sown over both Europe and Asia, and unless they be plucked up they will presently grow a crop of world's doom."

"Secondly, some sort of provisional understanding must be arrived at between the white world and renescent Asia. We whites will have to abandon our tacit assumption of permanent domination over Asia, while Asiatics

will have to forego their dreams of migration to white lands and penetration of Africa and Latin America. Unless some such understanding is arrived at, the world will drift into a gigantic race-war—and genuine race-war means war to the knife. . . ."

"Thirdly, even within the white world, migration of lower human types like those which have worked such havoc in the United States must be rigorously curtailed. . . ."

"Such are the things which simply must be done if we are to get through the next few decades without convulsions which may render impossible the white world's recovery."

#### Menace of Bolshevism.

As if the white race were not sufficiently menaced by the restlessness of the colored races and the terrible ravages of the great war, the Bolsheviks, whites themselves, yet playing the game of the colored races, now raise their heads and openly toy with the idea of alliance with the yellow and brown men for the purpose of hurling white supremacy into the dust.

"The menace of Bolshevism," declares Mr. Stoddard, "is simply incalculable. . . . It is not merely a war against a social system, not merely a war against our civilization; it is a war of the hand against the brain. For the first time since man was man there is a definite schism between the hand and the head. Every principle which mankind has thus far evolved—community of interest, the solidarity of civilization and culture, the dignity of labor, of muscle, of brawn, dominated and illuminated by intellect and spirit—all these Bolshevism howls down and tramples in the mud. . . ."

What can the white man do? First, he must forego dreams of dominating the whole world, says the author, for he can no longer hold it in his weakening grasp. Resistance, the author argues, will be useless in the Asiatic strongholds of the yellow and brown man, where the renaissance among the natives "will eventually result in the substantial elimination of white political control from Anatolia to the Philippines." He favors withdrawal of whites from Asia as strongly as he advocates a firm stand against encroachments by colored races on white supremacy elsewhere. Such withdrawal, he asserts, will avert cataclysmic disasters.

"Our true 'outer dikes,'" he says, "stand not in Asia but in Africa and Latin America. Let us not exhaust ourselves by stubborn resistance in Asia, which in the end must prove futile." But the statesmen of Versailles could



# Irish Author Attacks Jews and Negroes As Nation's Menace; Favors Latter's Deportation

*Houston Informer 9/18/20*

A pamphlet has been circulated broadcast in Chicago entitled "White Americans," signed by one Patrick O'Rourke. This pamphlet has been given to many hundreds of members of the white race and has reached the hands of many Jewish and Negro citizens through their sympathizers. Those who have read this article are of the opinion that it is propaganda fostered by the Catholic Church. The writer seems well versed in this kind of propaganda and it savors of European origin.

## Would Deport Negroes.

Mr. Patrick O'Rourke states that there are four races of people in the United States, consisting of Geals, Gauls, Greeks, Slavs, Teutons and Romans, which compose the first race and are styled European whites. The second race is styled as the black race, composed of American Negroes and numbers twelve millions. The third race is the red race and is composed of American Indians and exists in larger numbers than the majority of individuals imagine. The fourth race is the Asiatic race, which is made up of Semites, Turks, Tartars, Mongols, which are in turn represented by the Arabs, Armenians, Syrians and

Jews. The writer states that these people should be repatriated and the Negroes, especially, should be driven out of the United States, as they are semi-civilized and semi-intelligent. He states that they should be shipped back to Africa at the rate of 300,000 per year. At the end of 12 years, the entire 12,000,000 would be back upon African soil. He states that Negroes are ugly, odorous, uncouth, and repulsive, and that they have destroyed the union of American brotherhood, that they were the cause of the civil war and its unholy fratricide, that they have split the republican party into "lily white" and black factions, that the republican party is the "Nigger Party" and surmises that if the republican party would amend the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution to such proportions that it would read that "any and all persons of the European white race born or naturalized in the United States and of the state in which they reside," then all Asiatics, blacks and Indians would lose their ballot and be reduced to tentative chattel slavery. This is highly imperative, says O'Rourke, if the white race would continue its domination.

## Warns Against Jews.

Strange, that at a time when

Ireland is making such bold strokes for its freedom, Lord Mayor MacSwiney of Cork, is dying of a hunger strike for the liberation of Erin, that Patrick O'Rourke, who at least has an Irish name, should submit such derogatory matter concerning other subject races. In a violent tirade against Jews he states that Jews are getting a foothold in America, that in 1824 there were only 6,000 of them in this country, but at the present time there are over 3,000,000 of them, that they are a distinct race, and of a distinct religious caste, that they are peculiar to Asia and foreign to Europe. O'Rourke, which is believed to be a nom de plume, or pen name, further states that Jews are not Americans, but internationalists and cosmopolites.

## Says Jews Ruined Theatre.

Mysterious O'Rourke states that the Jews have purchased most of the theatres in the United States and have destroyed the beauty and effect of grand opera and high class entertainment by the use of Negro folk songs and jazz music. It is intimated also that fathers of the union, being unable to secure political exiles and prisoners of war to labor during the colonial periods, brought Negroes to this country in the capacity of work-

animals and that these Puritan fathers never intended that these work animals should join in the profit of American industry. The writer even phrases the bible by saying: "What does it profit the white man for 300 years' toil to allow the Levantes, Negroes and Asiatics to reap the benefits?" The descendants of the slaves must not be allowed to rule, he says, and that the Asiatics and red races must not be swayed by the dictum of the Jews, that the United States is the dumping ground of the world. The writer calls attention to the fact that in 1760 the Spaniards controlled Mexico, while in 1920, there are no Spaniards there at all. He charges the United States to consider the cases of Brazil, Mexico, and Russia.

## Must Appeal to Congress.

O'Rourke states that it is incumbent upon every white man who comes under the classification of European to write to congress and appeal that the teeth of the fourteenth amendment be withdrawn. The inflammatory motto of these white Americans is: "The Union, the Republic, the English language and the White Race forever."

## Loyal Citizens Insulted.

Loyal citizens who have come within the scope of the attack of this un-American and un-Christian propaganda have appeared in body before the department of justice and demanded that this scurrilous propaganda to be condemned and the authors prosecuted to the full extent of the law. As yet, Patrick O'Rourke has not been uncovered, but the newspapers have been able to trace

the article to the Adair Printing Co. through its union label, No. 20. This printing establishment claims that the matter was not printed by them and claims that another prominent printing establishment, the name of which is being withheld until further investigation, did the work. Many prominent Jews are joining in with the Whip in tracing this matter to its source.

## NEGRO PROBLEMS DECLARED SERIOUS

BOSTON MASS C MONITOR  
AUGUST 12, 1920

### Member of House Immigration Committee Believes Colored Question More Important Than Chinese or Japanese

Special to The Christian Science Monitor from its Eastern News Office  
NEW YORK, New York—Negro, Japanese and Chinese racial questions are assuming vital importance in the affairs of the United States, and the former, not the Japanese question, is the most significant and far-reaching of the three in the opinion of Isaac Siegel, United States Representative from New York, who, as a member of the House Committee on Immigration and naturalization and chairman of the House committees on census and the reapportionment, is making a thorough survey of these matters. Having just returned from a four weeks' trip to the Pacific coast as a member of the former committee, which held daily hearings in several states in regard to Japanese and Chinese immigration, Mr. Siegel gave an interview to a representative of The Christian Science Monitor recently, in which, after admitting the importance of the Japanese question, he expressed the conviction that the Negro question was of far greater significance to the future of the nation. As a member of the census and apportionment committees, the congressman will be required to take the leading part in conducting hearings on the latest proposal with reference to the Negro problem, that congressional representation from the southern states should be reduced in the proportion in which the Negro population is excluded from the polls. He said yesterday that he was opposed to such reduction, but rather favored increased



educational activities on behalf of the convention.

Negro, in order that literacy in the southern states might be increased and the Negro given a larger share in the country's representation.

### Must Face Issues

Mr. Siegel believes that the necessity of facing squarely the three racial questions now facing the country cannot be overestimated. In California he has come into intimate contact with what he insists is anti-Japanese propaganda conducted for the political benefit of a certain candidate or candidates for office. In Chicago he learned a great deal about the campaign being conducted by an American engineer for the admittance into the United States of thousands of Chinese coolies to relieve the shortage in labor. And he has been watching the campaign conducted by a Nebraska minister for the reduction of southern representation.

All three, he believes, are serious questions, among the most serious domestic questions the country has to face today. The Negro question he thinks is most important because the other two can be taken care of more or less definitely by international diplomacy. Any attempt to reduce southern representation would be met by vigorous opposition from the South, not only from the white electorate, but also from the Negro leaders themselves, who would see in it another effort to reduce their rights under the Constitution of the United States. At a time when Negroes are holding an "Africa for Negroes only" convention in this city, Congressman Siegel inferred that it was not difficult to sense the far-reaching effects of the reduced representation propaganda.

That convention, by the way, continues to be outspoken against any further attempts to cooperate with the whites, and its leader, Marcus Garvey, has attacked definitely and vigorously the services which such a recognized Negro leader as Dr. W. E. Burkhardt Dubois has rendered to his people. Whether they really believe that the time is at all near when they can strike out solely for themselves, these Negroes, most of them West Indian, do not hesitate to boast that when the yellow race rises against the white the Negro would be foolish not to strike against both.

### Realignment Opposed

Mr. Siegel does not see the necessity of aggravating the Negro problem. He is opposed to taking any action with reference to realignment of the southern delegation in Congress which might contribute, along with other conditions, to bringing the Negro problem to an impasse. He would not play into the hands of the class of Negro thought which is reflected in

### Political Issue

"It is to be regretted that a United States Senator is seeking reelection mainly upon that issue. In some parts of California the statement has been openly and freely made that unless Japanese immigration is stopped, use will be made of trees and limbs which are in abundance.

"After hearing all the testimony, seeing American-born Japanese in person, hearing them at great length, reading very carefully what the newspapers have said, holding personal interviews with citizens who are residents of the western states and weighing everything, my conclusion is that action must be taken by the State Department without delay to obtain a new treaty with Japan, which should expressly cover the question by permitting real merchants, professional men, students, actors, ministers and others to come here.

"Most earnest thought must be given to the question as to whether a general registration of the Japanese in America should not be undertaken and citizenship conferred upon those who are fit by education, length of time in America and good character, as in that way their contention that they must constantly stick together in order to be protected would be eliminated.

"Prompt action must be taken to establish a border patrol along the Mexican and Canadian borders in order to prevent all from smuggling and from bringing into America persons or property which are prohibited by law.

"The people of the western coast have been aroused and the bitterness has been brought into existence by the continuous agitation of two classes, namely, those who are either in or out of political office, or those who really believe that on account of the big birth rate of the Japanese, eventually they will dominate the situation.

### Many Smuggled

"It is frankly admitted that thousands of people have entered the United States through Mexico and Canada, who have never passed an examination. None of them has ever paid the tax of \$8 required of immigrants who enter at Ellis Island, and, of course, never passed the other requirements for the entry of immigrants into the United States. Most careful, cool, deliberate consideration must be given to this entire problem.

"If the agitation is permitted to continue without a remedy being found, the very lives of many of the Japanese in California are at stake. Up to now, law and order have been maintained by Governor Stephens. There is no doubt that the Governor will make every effort to continue this, but the very atmosphere is pregnant with grave danger.

"The State Department should commence its negotiations with Japan in regard to this matter without further delay."

As for the campaign for bringing Chinese coolies into the United States, Congressman Siegel said it should be remembered that China would have to stipulate that a guarantee of \$2000 and return ticket must be provided for each Chinaman so admitted. Apparently those who favored the plan,

as a means of relieving the labor shortage, had not provided for meeting this requirement. And organized Labor in the United States would oppose the plan vigorously.

### A NEGRO PARALLEL

WALL ST JOURNAL  
FEBRUARY 20, 1920

With no intention of comparing the supersensitive Irishman to the negro, but to draw an instructive international parallel, it is necessary to supplement the merely business comment made in these columns, on the attempt to raise money for Irish propaganda by means of receipts for subscriptions improperly and deceptively called "bonds". That our immense present strength in the world protects us from British resentment of what is nevertheless an offense against international good feeling goes without question.

But let us imagine a close parallel. Let us suppose the negroes of the former slave states, intelligently and unscrupulously led, resented the failure to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. Let us suppose that they formed a party for agitation, at home and abroad. Let us further assume that they kept the loyal white minority in constant costly uncertainty and alarm. Let us suppose that they called this party of agitation a "republic", and sent representatives to stir up feeling in England against the American Government.

Substituting, purely for supposition of course, "negro" for "nationalist", these delegates in England would be substantially in the same position as De Valera and his following now occupy in the United States. There would be exactly the same appeal to sympathy, because, to offset the Irish in America, there are colored races presumably in sympathy with our negroes, greatly outnumbering them even as our Irish are said to outnumber the present inhabitants of Ireland.

Exactly as the Irish agitator here pleads that the Ulsterman, a convinced supporter of British rule, should be ignored because of a voting minority, so the negro agitator in Britain might demand that the white minority of the population of the former Confederate states should also be ignored in the process of what he would undoubtedly call, like Mr. De Valera, "self-determination".

It would be absurd also to tell the Englishman that he was unable to understand a purely domestic problem, like that our American negro presents. Not only could he retort in kind about our meddling in Ireland; he could also tell us, with considerable truth, that he had been successfully governing colored races before we were weaned. He would only need to point to the all-pervading red on the map of the world to prove his case.

Under British law no such negro bond issue could even be offered to the public. Under British good faith such an issue would not be tolerated even if it were legal. Fortunately we are in no danger. But there is an old parable about a mote and a beam which we might more frequently apply in our international relations.



# BLACK PERIL JOINS HANDS WITH THE YELLOW PERIL

No Disposition on the Part of the Authorities Here and Abroad to Regard the Convention of the Negro Race, Now in Session in New York, as a Joke.

Rapid Growth of the Pan-African Movement and Its Recent Manifestation of Power, Domestic and Foreign,

Render It a Subject of Grave Alarm.

WINTHROP M. AMERICAN

AUGUST 8, 1920

DE L'EX-ATTACHE.

ALTHOUGH there seems to be a very general disposition in this country to treat the 30 days' Convention of the Negro Race, now in progress in New York, in the light of a joke, yet it is engaging the very serious attention, not only of the administration at Washington, but also of several friendly governments, notably, those of Great Britain and France. It is perfectly true that the platform antics of the Jamaican Marcus Garvey, in his gold and purple robes, his expectation of being addressed as Your Majesty, and his extravagance of language, perhaps peculiar to his race, are of a nature to invite ridicule. But going beneath the surface, the gathering must be looked upon as a manifestation of a movement that has made amazing progress during the last two decades: a movement that threatens ere long to develop into a great international peril, nay, into a menace of the entire white races of the world.

We are already confronted by the Pan-Asiatic specter, to which we have given the name of the Yellow Peril. We are now being brought face to face with a Black Peril, in the form of the organization of a Pan-African union of all the negro tribes and nationalities; not against those of Asia, but frankly and avowedly against the white races of the globe. In the case of both of these movements, Bolshevik influences have been at work during the last two or three years, and their hand is apparent. Moreover, there is a considerable amount of evidence to show Pan-Asia and Pan-Africa are in sympathy with one another, in their animosity against the white nations. But in one notable and remarkable respect they differ. For whereas the Pan-Asiatic movement is in no sense of the word religious, the Pan-African organization professes Christianity, of a peculiar brand, and makes abundant use thereof for purposes of propaganda. It is of a species of Christianity quite in keeping with its name of "The Church of Ethiopia," and which, in the Dark Continent at an rate, is to such an extent in touch with certain forms of Mohammedanism, and retains so many elements of former Paganism that it does not constitute any obstacle to co-operation of the blacks of every creed and denomination against those whom they are more and more coming to regard as their common enemy, the whites.

## EQUALITY IN LABOR UNIONS.

Even those Americans who, since they have been called upon to pay, in the form of extortionate taxes, the colossal expenditures incurred by the government in the Great War from the economic, political and social dis-

## MALCONTENTS AMONG THEM.

The victory which they have thus achieved is naturally bound to encourage them to further ambition, which, on the 7th of January, 1919, held a conference of several hours' duration at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York with the Japanese Special Embassy to the Peace Congress in Paris, which was represented at the meeting by S. Kuroyawa, owner of a string of newspapers in Japan, and the publicity delegate of the mission. Madame Walker was accompanied by Asa Philip Randolph, a close associate of Marcus Garvey, and one of the editors of "The Negro World" and of "The Messenger." The points under discussion during that meeting were the principle of self-determination in relation to Africa; the abolition and prohibition of all economic, political and social distinctions based upon color; and freedom of immigration for all people, regardless of race, creed, nationality and hue.

abilities that now handicap their aspirations. They are thoroughly discontented with their lot, more so than ever since the Great War, in which near 400,000 of them took an active part, and where those who fought abroad were treated by the French and by the other Allied nations of Europe with a degree of consideration and cordiality that was withheld from them by their white American comrades and fellow-citizens there and here. Being dissatisfied, they are naturally disposed to lend a willing ear to agitators, domestic or foreign, who for purposes of their own endeavor to foster their resentment against the United States government and against various forms of American authority and American life. And since they are malcontents, are destined to become more so, and have now become conscious of their strength, as shown by their victory in the fight against the most powerful labor organizations in this country, we may look toward their becoming in very short order, a weighty and disturbing factor in the political and economic system of this country.

## FUNDS FOR THEIR PAPERS.

Among the features of this negro movement, which has attracted the attention of the authorities both here and in Great Britain, is the abundance of funds which its leaders seem to have at their disposal. Thus, they have a number of daily newspapers, weekly journals and monthly magazines, some of them edited by negroes who are graduates of Harvard and of other white universities, and which have a large circulation. They are for the most part expensively produced, and it is evident from the restricted nature of the advertisements which they carry that they do not pay their way and are generously financed. As long as she was alive, the late Mrs. C. J. Walker, of New York, a millionaire negress, contributed largely to the funds of these various organs of the press. She had made a large fortune by the selling of a treatment to take the kinks out of the negroes' hair and other toilet preparations, for the sale of which she had over 30,000 agents in her employ. She was an ardent champion of the rights and aspirations of her race, and over the leaders of which she exercised a considerable influence. Since her death the funds have been derived from other sources, and it is reported that they come to a very great extent from the various Russian Bolshevik secret agencies in the United States.

## JOINED WITH JAPANESE.

Incidentally it may be said about the late Mrs. Walker—she used to be known as Madame Walker—that she formed part of a committee of the International League of Darker Races, which, on the 7th of January, 1919, held a conference of several hours' duration at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York with the Japanese Special Embassy to the Peace Congress in Paris, which was represented at the meeting by S. Kuroyawa, owner of a string of newspapers in Japan, and the publicity delegate of the mission. Madame Walker was accompanied by Asa Philip Randolph, a close associate of Marcus Garvey, and one of the editors of "The Negro World" and of "The Messenger." The points under discussion during that meeting were the principle of self-determination in relation to Africa; the abolition and prohibition of all economic, political and social distinctions based upon color; and freedom of immigration for all people, regardless of race, creed, nationality and hue.

of Nations (pague of Abomi nations) which proposes to subject Africa to perpetual, unresisting exploitation." The Negro World also laments "the false stories circulated about Bolshevik misdeeds," while The Messenger, with which Asa Philip Randolph is likewise connected, rails in almost every one of its numbers against the activities of the Allies against the Bolshevik Junta of Russia.

## IN THE DARK CONTINENT.

All of the foremost authorities on the problem connected with the black races, such as Sir Arthur Lawley, who spent a number of years as governor in South Africa; Lord Milner, now secretary of state for the colonies; the late Frederick Courtenay Selous, the famous lion hunter and writer upon questions relating to the Zulus and to the Kaffirs; Dr. Harry Johnston; Dr. Charles Peters, the German explorer; Archibald Colquhoun, and, indeed, all those who have studied the negro problem are unanimous in ascribing an American origin to the Pan-African movement. Whereas, here the whites are ten times as numerous as the blacks, in the Dark Continent the whites represent barely 1 per cent. of an average native population of 200,000,000, who are all more or less united by a common sentiment of inherited resentment against the whites and by an overwhelming desire to drive them out of Africa. Sir Arthur Lawley, when he left South Africa to assume the governorship of Madras, gave frank and public utterances to his conviction that sooner or later a great rising of the blacks against the whites would take place throughout the length and breadth of the Dark Continent. These views were not those of an irresponsible alarmist and sentiment-monger, but of a colonial administrator of extensive experience, and invested with one of the most important offices in the gift of the British crown.

## WAITING FOR A WAR.

Moreover, in the Negro World, which is Asa Philip Randolph's paper, I find the following paragraph: "The next war will be between the negroes and the whites, unless our demands for justice are recognized. With Japan to fight with us, we can win such a war." And in another issue of the same paper: "With the rising militarism of Asia, and the standing militarism of Europe, one can foresee nothing else but an armed clash between the white and yellow races. When this clash of millions comes, an opportunity will present itself to the negro people of the world to free themselves. At that time, whether you are born an American negro, a West Indian negro, or an African negro there will be no time to think of anything else but negro liberty on the continent of Africa. It will be through the winning of the day for African arms, that the negroes both of America and of the West Indies will be rendered safe for all time."

## ADMIRE THE BOLSHEVISTS.

From still another number of The Negro World I take the following: "On the subject of Africa, the only government that believes in freedom for the natives of that continent, is that of Bolshevik Russia, which has incorporated its belief into its declaration of rights. The other governments, like that of the United States, Italy, Japan, England and France, are all in favor of the infamous League

## BLAMED ON METHODISTS.

It was Sir Arthur, in particular, who always insisted that the movement was promoted in its inception by the colored Methodist Church of America, and although this has been denied by the latter, yet I remember some time ago reading in The Voice of Missions, the official organ of the African Methodist Church of America, published at Atlanta, Ga., an expression of the hope that "the blacks would drive the English out of South Africa in the same way that the French had been pitched out of Haiti." Certain it is that the British authorities in South Africa placed obstacles in the way of the colored Bishop Coppin, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of America, in the course of his stay in Africa some twelve years or so ago, and refused him permission to travel about in the Transvaal, the Orange River and other colonies.

2009



## CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA.

The Pan-African movement is officially styled the Ethiopian movement, and first came to the fore in South Africa in 1892, when a negro minister named Makone seceded from the Wesleyan Church at Pretoria and founded an independent church of his own, which he entitled the Church of Ethiopia. He was afterward joined by another seceder named Dwane. And then they managed to obtain affiliation with the African Methodist Episcopal Church of America. Dwane coming to the United States for the purpose. Finding, however, that their affiliations with the African Methodist Church of America gave them no locus standi in South Africa, Dwane, Makone and the other leaders of the Ethiopian movement managed, by promising spiritual allegiance to the Anglican Archbishop of Capetown and Primate of South Africa, to obtain from him a charter creating them "The Order of Ethiopia," with rights to hold and control property for religious and educational purposes, and for the administration of its own affairs. This gave the Ethiopian Church a corporate existence, and enabled it to acquire very considerable wealth, which it now holds. Its pledges of spiritual allegiance to the Anglican Church have not been kept, and, indeed, were only given to secure the right to hold property. In fact, by 1904 the Order of Ethiopia had to such an extent emancipated itself from its allegiance to the Anglican Church and discredited itself in a religious sense that at the great missionary conference held in that year at Pretoria it was unanimously resolved that the "Ethiopians" were "unworthy to be received by other Christian bodies in communion."

## CHRISTIAN AND NONCHRISTIAN.

Today the doctrine of democratic equality which every American negro has on the tip of his tongue is being preached from every Ethiopian pulpit and platform in South Africa. The blacks are being urged "not to work for the white man, but for themselves," and, as in the United States, the organs of the negro press interested in the Ethiopian or Pan-African movement, notably the *Imro*, are devoting all their energies to the envenoming of racial animosity, that is to say, negro hatred for the whites. In one word, the Ethiopian Church of 1892 has taken a notable part in the development, if not the actual creation, of the present great Pan-African movement, embracing non-Christian as well as Christian blacks, for the conversion of the Dark Continent into a sort of colossal Haiti, "where black rules white."

## RULE BY WHITES

### TIMOROUS AUTHOR SEES GROW- ING THREAT TO CAUCASIAN DOMINANCE.

People of Darker Hue Outnumber  
Whites Two to One, He Shows—  
New Asiatic Invasion of  
Europe Feared.

LONG ISLAND CITY N. Y. STAR  
MAY 7, 1920

Is the white man's world in danger  
of complete extinction?

Will the overwhelming colored races—the yellow men, the brown men, the black men and the red men—dominate the whole earth and sweep the white races out of existence?

This is the sensational theme discussed in "The Rising Tide of Color," a book just issued from the press of Charles Scribner's Sons, written by Lothrop Stoddard, A.M., Ph.D.

But while his theme is sensational, the author develops his subject in an extremely practical and convincing manner.

In his opening chapter Mr. Stoddard reminds us that on the spring evening of the year 1914 the man who opened his atlas to a political map of the world probably got one fundamental impression: the overwhelming preponderance of the white race in the ordering of the world's affairs.

Two whole continents, North America and Australia, had been made virtually as white in blood as the European motherland; two other continents, South America and Africa, had been extensively colonized by white stocks; while even huge Asia had seen its empty northern march, Siberia, pre-empted for the white man's abode.

In comparison the regions under nonwhite governments bulked small. Of the 53,000,000 square miles which (excluding the polar regions) constitute the land area of the globe, only 6,000,000 square miles have non-white governments.

In 1914 came the Great War—a death struggle between the white peoples. And the result of that war was a further whittling down of the areas standing outside white political control.

Here the casual reader would ask the author:

"If the white race is gaining governmental control of the world, wherein is the menace from the colored races?"

The author meets this query by saying:

"The answer is: the dangerous delusion created by viewing world affairs solely from the angle of politics.

"The late war has taught many lessons as to the unstable and transitory character of even the most imposing political phenomena, while a better reading of history must bring home the truth that the basic factor in human affairs is not politics, but race."

In other words, we should turn to the racial, not the political map of the globe. Europe, North America to the Rio Grande, the southern portion of South America, the Siberian part of Asia, and Australasia, constitute the real white world; while the bulk of Asia, virtually the whole of Africa, and most of Central and South America form the world of color.

In these two racially contrasted areas there are 22,000,000 square miles for the whites and 31,000,000 square miles for the colored races.

At least one-third of the white area is thinly populated and is held by a very slender racial tenure. But the populations of the two racial worlds tell the whole story. And, in this connection, Mr. Stoddard presents to us the following figures:

Total human population in the world .....	1,700,000,000
Total number of whites in the world .....	550,000,000
Total number of colored races in the world .....	1,150,000,000

There is no question that the colored races are increasing very much faster than the white races, and the white races have aided them in this direction by extending sanitary and life-conserving methods to the colored men's lands while the white birthrate is alarmingly decreasing.

### Spread of Bolshevism; Remedy for Whites.

Despite the great disparity between the number of colored people and the number of white people, the whites have taken for themselves the greater part of the land in the world, and vast areas of these are relatively empty, while the colored races find themselves in cramped quarters. Representative of the protest against this condition is the statement by the Japanese scholar Prof. Ryutaro Nagai:

"The world was not made for the white races, but for the other races as well."

From a British-educated Afghan comes the threat, "A coming struggle between Asia, all Asia, and Europe and America." He adds: "You are heaping up material for a Jihad, an Pan-Asia holy war, a gigantic day of reckoning."

In 1914 came the Great War—a death struggle between the white peoples. And the result of that war was a further whittling down of the areas standing outside white political control.

Here the casual reader would ask the author:

"If the white race is gaining governmental control of the world, wherein is the menace from the colored races?"

The author meets this query by saying: "The answer is: the dangerous delusion created by viewing world affairs solely from the angle of politics.

If this means more war, let it mean more war.

"We know only too well war's dreadful toll, particularly on racial values. But what war losses could compare with the losses inflicted by the living death of Bolshevism?"

"There are some things worse than war, and Bolshevism stands foremost among those dread alternatives."

In seeking the preventives to ward off the colored domination of the world the author says:

"Modern civilization has been one-sided; abnormal, unhealthy—and nature is exacting penalties which will increase in severity until we either fully adapt or finally perish. Finally perish. That is the exact alternative which confronts the white race."

The chief remedy, he says, is "blood." The supreme remedy for the threatened extinction of the white race is heredity. We must have race betterment. He enumerates the things which he says should be promptly done:

1. "The wretched Versailles business"—the parceling out of territory—must be thoroughly revised.
2. "Some sort of provisional understanding must be arrived at between the white world and nascent Asia. We whites will have to abandon our tacit assumption of permanent domination over Asia, while Asiatics will have to forego their dreams of migration to white lands.
3. Migrations of lower human types like those which have worked such havoc in the United States must be rigorously curtailed. Such migrations upset standards, sterilize better stocks, increase low types, and compromise national futures more than war, revolutions, or native deterioration."

## WHERE THE FAULT LIES

BECAUSE A TEACHER in one of Chicago's public schools disciplined a 10-year-old boy, the mother, a Sicilian, went to the class room and deliberately shot her, two bullets hitting her in the arm. She then chased the teacher through the building, showing clearly the intent to murder. The real problem that confronts Americans is how to put enough fire under the melting pot to make it dissolve the great mass of foreign substance that is constantly thrown into it so that the finished product may be clear and true. Figures have been gathered showing that over 75 per cent of the crimes committed in this country can be laid at the door of foreigners, and that is being done about it? They are pouring into this country now at the rate of 7,000 a day. Many parents need the American school room as much as do their children. The shooting incident happened in Chicago; the participants happened to be white. The daily press made mention of it, but did not suggest that all Sicilians were bad and should either be sent back home or compelled to attend separate schools for their nationality exclusively. It is not absolutely necessary to give this incident a southern setting to prove a point. Substitute a Colored mother and child for the white mother and child. From the northern Dixie-controlled press would come the echo of "I told you so," and the enemy would have a choice morsel to feed on for some moons to come. They would attempt to show that the brute instinct was more pronounced in the dark than it is in the light race, and until the former become civilized—if they ever do—safety demands that the groups be kept apart. What a mess they would dish up. But the woman who did the shooting is white and a foreigner with a government behind her, so it will only be considered the act of an individual; all Sicilians will not be held accountable. Wonderful, truly, is the American white man's method of reasoning.

RISE OF COLORED  
RACES SHADOWS



Race Problem—1920—U. S.

# Comments on Negro Literature. GOV. RUSSELL OF MISSISSIPPI SAYS CRISIS AGENT WILL HAVE FULL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS

4-30-20.

## Rev. Franklin, The Agent Who Sold The Crisis, Was Brutally Beaten Before Fined And Sentenced To Work On Farm

*The Tuscaloosa Weekly Herald*

New York, April 27, 1920.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, announces the receipt on April 26, of a telegram from Hon. Lee M. Russell, Governor of Mississippi, stating that "Franklin and all other persons will always have full protection of our laws in securing their legal rights." This telegram was dated Jackson, Miss., 11.45 A. M., April 26.

NOTE: On April 22, the Association mailed to the press copies of telegrams passing between the Association, the Governor and Acting Governor of Mississippi, the last two being the telegram of April 21 of Acting Governor H. H. Casteel, in which he evaded replying to the Association's appeal for protection and in defiant language threatening that the editor of the Crisis, the Association's organ would be made an example of if he appeared in Mississippi, and the Association's second appeal for legal protection following the receipt of the acting-governor's wire.

The Association announces that since the publication of these telegrams, it has been informed from two sources, one of them a white man, that the Rev. E. R. Franklin was badly beaten in addition to being fined, the beating being described as "Beaten into a jelly." The Association is unable, upon its own authority, to substantiate this allegation, but in one case the information came

to it from a man who had written to a third party on other matters and mentioned this case incidentally as a matter of news. In the other case, information came directly from a correspondent familiar with all details of the case.

**ON ADVERTISING**  
*The Tuscaloosa Weekly Herald*  
Editor The Daily Record: 3-21-

Some one has well said, "Truth is the light of the world." Since this is so, I beg, with your permission, to turn the light on the article "Protest Against Advertising Done by Negro College," etc., which was sent out from Washington city by your special correspondent, Parker R. Anderson, and was published the The Daily Record Saturday afternoon, the 20th that any one who may not be blinded by race prejudice may have a chance to see the truth in the premises.

In the first place, because one advertises in a particular journal it does not necessarily prove that he indorses every opinion expressed by its publisher, for we know of many a negro who sometimes puts an advertisement in some rabid democratic paper that abuses and says all manner of mean things politically and otherwise about the race to which he belongs, which naturally he could not approve of; but desiring, however, to reach a certain class of readers of the paper, it was simply a matter of business with him to advertise in it and not necessarily one of sentiment or partiality.

Now the Crisis having, so "one of the most prominent citizens of Greensboro" says, 1,138,000 subscribers, Prof. James B. Dudley, being president of one of the leading schools in the south for the educational training for future usefulness of the negro youth, as a matter of fact, is very much interested, as he should be, in that the A. and T. college should become known to 12,000,000 negroes of the

country and that they should likewise know for what it stands. Therefore, regardless of the personal opinions of the editor of the Crisis on any particular subject, but with an eye for business and an increased enrollment of students, he very wisely resorts to the columns of the magazine to secure the widest publicity for the institution over which he presides.

Second, as to the indictment by "Senator Simmons' Greensboro correspondent that the negro publication referred to, published under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is in favor of negro social equality," etc., we wish to say he is very much in error.

Just here, however, we shall let the editor of the Crisis define his own position on this particular subject. In the November, 1919, number of the magazine Dr. DuBois says regarding "social equality" that:

"Every time the American negro seeks reasonably and earnestly to bring his case before the white south and the nation the bourbons proceed to throw dust in the eyes of the public by screaming frantically 'social equality.' That bogey can be easily met. If 'social equality' means the right to vote, the abolition of 'Jim Crow' cars, the stoppage of lynching, universal education and civil rights, then social equality is exactly what we want."

Furthermore, in the same volume the editor also says:

"We do not contenance violence. Our fight is against violence. We are fighting, as we always have fought, for the reign of law over the reign of mobshamed of himself. In the face of No sane man or woman can for these facts any unprejudiced man minute advise any group to use them as a torch or the gun to right the wronggiving the negroes more than they of violence. Only in self-defense can are entitled to by every dictate of such a course ever be considered just, right, wisdom, humanity and defensible. But we must fight and we are going to fight in every legitimate and lawful way until our problem is entirely settled."

Social justice, not "social equality," for the negro of this country is what the Crisis and the organization which it represents are contending for, and any person who peruses the columns of the magazine with unprejudiced eyes and an open mind will arrive at the same conclusion. The two terms are not identical, but antipodal, as any one having an average acquaintance with common English well knows.

And, besides, no sane and intelligent negro aspires after "social equality." He is not asking for anything that belongs to another, but he is demanding rights that are his under the constitution of the American government.

Third, as to the assertion that the white people of the state would object to their taxes, paid for the education of the negro, being used for

such a purpose, viz., "the advertisement in such a publication," we would say that the money which is annually appropriated for the support of the A. and T. college does not come entirely out of the pockets of the taxpayers of the state, but that the federal government grants \$16,500 of the \$32,500 which the school now gets for its maintenance.

However, if there is any white taxpayer who begrudges or complains of that \$16,000 which the state legislature votes as its quota for the successful running of the A. and T. college, or for that matter money for any other school, viz., the common and normal schools, for the making of a more intelligent and industrious and consequently a better and more valuable citizenry of the negro youth, I hope he will put his hand on his conscience and reflect what the Hon. James Y. Joyner, our former able and broad-minded state superintendent, has to say in the following paragraph, to be found on page 62 in his biennial report, 1915-1916, to the state legislature:

"It is estimated that the negroes paid for schools in taxes on their own property and poll, not including corporations, about \$216,094.84, or less than one-half of all that they received for school purposes. Add to this their just share of fines, forfeitures and penalties and their share of the large school tax paid by corporations to which they are entitled under the constitution by every dictate of reason and justice and it will be apparent that the part of the taxes actually paid by individual white men for the education of the negro is so small that the man that would begrudge it fighting, as we always have fought, for the reign of law over the reign of mobshamed of himself. In the face of No sane man or woman can for these facts any unprejudiced man minute advise any group to use them as a torch or the gun to right the wronggiving the negroes more than they of violence. Only in self-defense can are entitled to by every dictate of such a course ever be considered just, right, wisdom, humanity and defensible. But we must fight and we are going to fight in every legitimate and lawful way until our problem is entirely settled."

CHAS. H. MOORE.  
PHILA PA NORTH AMERICAN  
MARCH 20, 1920  
**NEGRO RESENTMENT FINDS  
AN ELOQUENT EXPRESSION**

An almost lyrical cry of protest from one who is said to have succeeded Booker T. Washington as the spokesman for about 200,000,000 of the dark race is "Darkwater," a sequel to "The Souls of Black Folk," by W. E. B. Du Bois, which is published by Harcourt, Brace & Howe.

The publishers report hundreds of letters, misspelled and almost illegible, from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Arkansas and other states, from negroes who are writing for the book which expresses the aspirations and resentments of their race.

Doctor Du Bois, whose African blood is tinged with two faint strains, one French and one Dutch, dating to glorious episodes of the time when America was being colonized, is a graduate of Harvard, and studied at the universities of Berlin and Paris. His book includes essays, short stories, plays and poems, some of them touched

with high artistic merit and an inescapable appeal. His essays are masterpieces of passionate expression.

Destructive criticism of the volume can be made, but it would be, to a great extent, piffing and factitious. No one honestly believes that the negroes didn't or do not continue to have a very strong case against their immensely prejudiced white "brothers." This case is stated in a tense, almost rhapsodical style. There is none of the subdued doctrine of Booker T., counseling negroes to fit themselves for menial service and subordinate positions. Du Bois is the negroes' Browning. He would have them hitch their wagon to the highest star within their ken.

There is one very significant paragraph, in italics, which is important as expressing an attitude if nothing more: "What, then, is this dark world thinking? It is thinking that as wild and awful as this shameful war was (the one just ended) it is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the white world cease. The dark world is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not one moment longer."

But Doctor Du Bois is an optimist: "Eastward and westward storms are breaking—great ugly whirlwinds of hatred and blood and cruelty. I will not believe them inevitable. I will not believe that all that was must be, that all the shameful drama of the past must be done again today before the sunlight sweeps the silver sea."

**NEGRO NEWSPAPER  
BARRED IN ARKANSAS**  
2-22-20.

Pine Bluff, Ark., February 21.—Eighteen leaders of the negro community, including two ministers, were named as defendants today in a suit filed by city officials seeking an injunction to prohibit the circulation in this county of a Chicago negro newspaper, on the ground that the paper tended to incite the negroes. Chancellor J. M. Elliott immediately issued temporary restraining orders against the negroes pending hearing of the suit. Similar action was filed last week against negro news dealers. The newspaper contained an account of the killing here, February 5, of George Vicks, a negro who had previously slain a city detective, which is alleged to have been "false and intended to stir up strife between the races."

Circulator of Crisis 4-24-20  
*Chicago, Ill. Thrown in Jail*

Jackson, Miss., April 23.—Because he represented the Crisis Magazine, published in New York, E. R. Franklin has been sentenced in Holmes County, this state, to six months' imprisonment and fined \$400. The case arose out of an editorial in the January issue of the paper, which the whites here stated that it demanded "too many rights for the Negroes, and would only serve to swell their heads."

**"THE MAN  
NEXT DOOR"**  
*he negro*  
By ALGERNON JACKSON, M. D.,



3-27-20

At a gathering of colored newspaper men in Harlem recently, T. Thomas Fortune, the founder of the New York Age, stated that when he came to New York city in 1879 to start a newspaper there were only four or five colored newspapers in the country. Today they are numbered by the score. Forty years ago a book by a Negro author was an exceptional and much talked of event. Today from a half-dozen to a dozen books by Negro authors, and sometimes more, issues annually from the press.

"The Man Next Door," by Algernon Brashear Jackson, M. D., F. A. C. A. author, "Evolution and Life," superintendent of Mercy Hospital, Philadelphia, and published by Neaula Publishing Company, 631 Pine street, Philadelphia, Pa., is the latest addition to the list. Dr. Jackson is a successful physician, who has keen intellectual interests and spends his leisure time in the study of scientific and racial subjects. He has given us a readable and suggestive book on the eternal question—the Negro question.

"The Man Next Door," of course, is the Negro. And we like the title. So often when the Negro is spoken of and written about he is discussed as if he were not a man, but part man and part beast, or the missing link between man and the ape. But in this book the title gives a clue to the treatment of the theme. The Negro is not treated as a being a little lower than the rest of mankind and a little higher than the lower animals, but as a man. And when the Negro is regarded and considered as a man, nothing more and nothing less, a good deal of vexation of the spirit of the Caucasians who are interested in him will vanish, like the mists before the rising sun.

"The Man Next Door" is a neatly printed work of 253 pages. It is divided into 15 chapters, as follows: "The Outlook," "Citizenship and Patriotism," "Producer and Consumer," "The Negro and His Church," "Educational Assets," "Race Consciousness," "Race Consciousness (continued)," "With Social Variations," "Health of Economics," "Tuberculosis, the Great Waste," "Getting His Bearings—Rent and Ownership," "Getting His Bearings (continued) Business Development," "Racial Groping," "Political Urge," "The Follies and Psychology of Prejudice," and "The Furnace for Gold."

The variety of subjects that are discussed gives some idea of the comprehensive plan or scope of the work. Nearly every book that is written on the Negro question, whether by a white man or a Negro, is written from the standpoint of an advocate. If the book is written by a Negro it is writ-

ten to vindicate his claims to social, civic, political and economic recognition. If it is written by a white man it is sometimes written with the desire to cause his white brother to give him a chance. But it is usually written to show the divine or scientific reasons why he should be disfranchised, jim-crowed, segregated and occasionally lynched in America, or subjugated in Africa.

The Negro is usually considered only from one angle or one observation. Rarely is the Negro question presented and discussed in the light of modern philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology and science. Now this is the great merit of "The Man Next Door." Dr. Jackson is not trying to win the favor of the Anglo-Saxon. He is not trying to win the favor of the Negro. He is not attempting the difficult straddling act of pleasing both the white man and the Negro at one and the same time. But Dr. Jackson is a man of observing and reflective mind, who has had a good deal of practical experience and has done considerable reading and thinking. And he writes from the standpoint of one who has made a scientific study of the Negro and found him a man.

The two chapters which interested us the most were the chapters on "Racial Consciousness." Dr. Jackson's views on that subject are the views which we have held from the time when we first began to study the so-called Negro problem in the light of modern psychology and sociology. And we cannot do better than to state Dr. Jackson's views in his own words:

Dr. Jackson says on pages 93 and following:

"Slavery killed almost every vestige of race consciousness. Education alone can restore it, make it more intensive and further reaching than any other single element which influences the advancement of the race. The individual of the race without self-esteem gets nowhere. Self-discovery is a tonic upon which individuals and races are reared to a full growth that is worth while. During the entire sojourn of the Negro in America he has been taught to disparage black and exalt white. So fixed have become these evil lessons in his mind that he has not been able to realize that slowly but surely he was committing racial suicide. This, however, cannot long endure, for it is founded upon a wrong principle of racial evolution.

"There is no need for the Negro to idealize the white man, for that individual has attended to the matter himself rather completely and selfishly. The Negro cannot expect to ever see his race idealized by anyone until he first does it himself—for himself. The desire for self-expression and self-exaltation comes with the development of education to a highly practical de-

gree, and serves as a test as to whether education is really and truly taking root. If education fails to develop a fine sense of race consciousness in the Negro, either education for him is a failure or his conception and application of intellect are erroneous and ill-founded.

"True, we have said that in some instances education has served to make certain Negroes discontented with their race, developing within them a disloyalty which has fostered bitter criticism and a desire to escape a condition they regard as a fate. There is no fault with education, per se; but the kind of education is to blame, especially when received by immature minds. We again say the Negro needs the same sort of education the white man needs, but he needs a supplementary training which emphasizes the value and worth of the contributions his race has made in developing a world civilization. The education given to American Negro boys and girls always glorifies white and disparages black.

"Most young Negroes leave school and college believing that their people have no history except that which began with American slavery, and that leaves with them such a picture of horrors that they hope, and even seek to forget a past which reduced their forebears to dumb driven cattle. But this horrible picture is only a small part of Negro history, and every Negro teacher should know and with a supreme patriotic pleasure feel the urge to teach the true history of ancient Africa and the part black men have played in giving culture and civilization to our world. Every Negro school should have a supplementary graded course for carrying this message of hope to the minds of black boys and girls. Every Negro college should have a chair devoted to the history of black men.

"As yet the real and complete history of the Negro has never been written, and never will be unless written by the Negro himself. Within the last few years many interesting archaeological discoveries have been made in Africa, which fix beyond all question of doubt the antiquity of the black man and his unquestioned leadership in ancient culture. Racial prejudice chokes the interest of white scientists in these discoveries, for the personal feelings dominate their scientific conclusions. Here is a most interesting field of research for Negro scientists, and Negro colleges should feel it a duty they owe to their race and the world to direct and finance such an expedition."

Dr. Jackson says again of pages 119 and 120: "Even about the shiftless black peasantry there seems to hang a halo both picturesque and poetic, which is just as liable to inspire a smile as a sigh. They indeed typify those

quaint songs of cabin, field and soul which have given America its national music, and for them we must have a tender and sympathetic love. Through music, poetry, art, science, philosophy and general culture the Negro has expressed himself, but a greater expression is yet due. Back to ancient Africa, the mysterious land of his forefathers, let him turn and reflect upon that superb culture and civilization which were choked out by invading Europeans, whose greed overthrew thrones, culture, trade and glory, all of which they regard as a fate. There is no fault with education, per se; but the kind of education is to blame, especially when received by immature minds. We again say the Negro needs the same sort of education the white man needs, but he needs a supplementary training which emphasizes the value and worth of the contributions his race has made in developing a world civilization. The education given to American Negro boys and girls always glorifies white and disparages black.

These are words which it would pay the Negro to ponder over. While we do not agree with everything Dr. Jackson says, there are many suggestive pages in "The Man Next Door." And the reader, whether he is black, brown, copper-colored, yellow, or white, will find much that is instructive and interesting in the work.

These are the words of one who knows the negro writer intimately, and who is familiar with all his works, B. K. Armstrong, a colored social worker, who lives at 3642 Prairie avenue. Mr. Armstrong has been in Chicago for the last two years, which time he has spent in investigating the race problems of Chicago's south side.

"Ten negroes read the works of a man like Booker T. Washington to every one who reads those of Dr. DuBois," he continued. "The average man of the dark race has never heard of him, from his

literary work at least. The time when he wielded the most influence was during the war, when he undertook to expose the propaganda against the negro soldiers in France. He also presented the claims for a united Africa before the peace conference in Paris.

**For Political, Not Social Equality.**

"But nowhere in his works, not even in his story called 'The Comet,' can be found, I believe, any grounds for the assertion that he favors, as is alleged by some, social equality. But he is a staunch advocate of public (or political) equality, which is quite another thing.

"No, it is not writings such as his that have aroused the spirit of radicalism in the colored race, but the constant oppression of our people.

"The negro is not planning or plotting an annihilation of the white race. He wants only his place in the sun. He wants political equality. Unfortunately whenever a movement for political equality is started enemies of the race cry out that that means social equality, and it comes to nothing.

"I am not very familiar with this 'Abyssinian' organization, which came into such lamentable prominence last Sunday. I imagine, however, it was originated and conducted by some none too intelligent or hard headed leaders.

**Protection for Both, Is Need.**

"There is one thing that can do more to quiet the spirit of unrest among the negroes than any other. That is nothing less than equal protection for the women of both races—protection for white women against certain black men, and for black women against certain whites."

## MISTAKE TO BLAME DUBOIS, SAYS EXPERT

CHICAGO ILL. NEWS

JUNE 23, 1920

Colored Writer Little Read by  
Negro Rank and File,  
Is View.

"It is a mistake to think that the works of Dr. W. E. DuBois are widely read among the rank and file of the negro race or that they are of such nature as to stimulate the spirit of radicalism in the negro."

These are the words of one who knows the negro writer intimately, and who is familiar with all his works, B. K. Armstrong, a colored social worker, who lives at 3642 Prairie avenue. Mr. Armstrong has been in Chicago for the last two years, which time he has spent in investigating the race problems of Chicago's south side.

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# THE AMERICAN NEGRO AS HE APPEARS TO AN ENGLISHMAN'S EYES

(From Current Opinion)

Mr. Stephen Graham, an

English writer who has recently visited America has much to say on the conditions now existing in America. He makes reference to each of the different nationalities that go to make up the composite America. Seven years ago no matter where a man came from it was America first. Since the war it is different. It is now, "Ireland for the Irish," "Russia for the Jews," Germany for the Germans," etc., so on down the line and after making reference to each of these he takes up the question of the Black man in America.

He says: "Then, as if these disaffections were not sufficient, there looms up another, perhaps a more menacing and troublesome than all the rest—the ferment of the Negroes."

"There are some fifteen millions of colored people in the United States—the ex-slaves and their children. The war has affected these black masses in a profound way. America does not advertise her Negro populations and her Negro problem; she has kept the Negro in the back ground. He has not been in vital touch with Europe as the white man has been. It was therefore a dumb founding moment when the United States began to take the Negro young men and drill them and draft them into its vast new conscript army. It would not have been so strange but that the NEGRO IN THE SOUTH IS DEPRIVED SOCIALLY OF THE STATUS OF MAN, AND FOR THE SOUTHERNER RANKS WITH ANIMALS. He is denied his legal right at every turn, and languishes in a state of peonage which in some respects is every whit as bad as the slavery from which he escaped in 1863. THE LYNCHING AND BURNING

OF NEGROES HAS NOT DISAPPEARED, BUT HAS BECOME A SPORT, BEGINNING WITH A MAN-HUNT WITH BLOODHOUNDS. When the Negro was told that he had to go to Germany and stop the Germans committing atrocities he was surprised; and, well, his native humor came to the rescue of his mind, and he chuckled, and said to his neighbor in the ranks: 'Brother, we's going to make the WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY,' which he seemed to regard as the greatest jokes.

"The Southern white man has two points of view about the Negro in the army; one was that he ought not be taken at all as he was not worthy of dying for his country; the other was that it was a good thing to send the Negro to France, as a large number of them would then be killed, and it would be a blessing to be rid of them. The story of the consequent treatment of the Negro units is too large to be described detailedly. Suffice it that it was very unworthy \* \* \* Race rioting broke out in the North, at Chicago, even at Washington, and, indeed, fought the riot until it ceased. The colored people have been forced to organize themselves to resist intolerance. The legend of the love of the Southerner for the Negro and of the Negro for the Southerner has at last been dissipated. Mothers now teach their children that the white man is their enemy. The Afro-American racial pride is fostered at every Negro school and by every Negro society; but the idea of the merging of the two races in one has been stopped, the blacks have accepted the impossibility of a general blending, and now demand the means of equal parallel and distinct developement."

## THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

JUNE 30, 1920

A Discussion of the Problem and its Many Fallacies

The Negro Faces America. By Herbert Seligmann. New York: Harper and Brothers.

To be consistent, along with his internationalism, Woodrow Wilson should have been the greatest champion of the rights of full citizenship for the Negro that the nation has known since Garrison. It is reported that he told Major Moton in Paris during the Peace Conference that if he, the President, put through his League of Nations covenant, he would do for the Negro more than any President had ever done. If this story is true it was characteristic of a certain lack of virtue in consistency. When the statement was made Mr. Wilson had been in the White House for six years, and during that time he had sanctioned the displacing of every Negro in every ministerial and consular post, every Federal office, which were even recognized by Cleveland as belonging to colored men. And there was far less political excuse, because when Mr. Wilson went to the White House there were more colored Democrats than ever before in the history of the country, or are likely to be again for a good many generations. Yet Mr. Wilson's administration began and pursued for nearly eight years a policy of repression and persecution which had its disastrous effect in the explosions of 1919. "In a world," declares Mr. Seligmann, at the very beginning of this volume, "composed of the most part of colored races, fully embarked on new adventures toward autonomy, Americans had to be reminded not only by a great northward migration of colored people during the war, but by race riots, chiefly in 1919, that new movements and aspirations were stirring on their own continent. It was blood-letting in the streets of American cities that accomplished anxious heart-searchings that were long overdue."

After a generation of faith and reliance upon the Government to maintain "law and order" and thus protect their rights as citizens, the rights of life and property, the Negro was forced by the Wilson administration to protect himself. It will always be the darkest blot upon the presidential idealism that during the race-riots in Washington, in the capitol of the nation, under the very shadow of the White House, Mr. Wilson, of racial backgrounds, of social and economic prodigal of utterances and rich in rhetoric, never broke silence. In failing to speak for law and order and justice, Mr. Wilson not only disappointed America, he disappointed the world; and Europe took it as a strange and ominous commentary upon his "idealistic" and "humane" attitude at the Peace Conference. If Mr. Wilson has conducted an unauthorized war in Russia, he has also instigated a disgraceful civil conflict at home. Destiny never put into any one man's hand, as it put into Mr. Wilson's, the sceptre of the world, and he made a mess of it because there was neither nobility nor virtue in dispensing justice in his own national household.

There is a passage in this book by Mr. Seligmann that describes the turn of the worm. "Washington," it reads, "has been adverted to as the meeting-ground of Southern and Northern attitudes on race matters. Southern sentiment looked hopefully to the complete resolution of the conflict in the capital's streets. Disgust was written not only on the faces of Southern representatives, but in Southern newspapers, at the 'leniency' with which colored people had been treated. It will be recalled that the riots had begun in a raid by white

soldiers and sailors upon the colored residence district, and the beating of offending colored men on the streets. Yet, said the Washington correspondent of a Memphis, Tennessee, newspaper on July 24: 'Southern Democrats here were sore to the core today. They were disgusted at the alien and "uplift" radicals who prevented real action to clear up the situation. The "Southerners in the capital" were "disgusted beyond words" with the action of the district government, and the national administration, which acted almost entirely with a view of protecting the Negroes.' The disgust was all-inclusive. 'From Secretary of War Baker down to Chief of Police Pullman the entire conduct of the Government during the riots was characterized by sissyism. The influence of aliens and of New England Negro elements prevented the vigorous policy which would have been pursued even in New York, to say nothing of Southern cities.' The Southern remedy for conflict is then indicated: 'The police failed to round up all Negroes and disarm them, as would have been done in any southern city or almost any other place.' The consequence of disarming the colored people of Washington, supposing that to have been possible, could hardly have been imagined, much less described. For, in the first two days of disorder, what kept white mobs from pillage, assault, incendiarism and murder in the colored district of Washington was not police, but pistols and rifles in the hands of colored men."

This book by Mr. Seligmann is like a keen knife in the hands of a surgeon skillfully probing under the nerves to get at the disease of the national patient. It cuts away many of the fallacies that protrude under the skin of "color." Mr. Seligmann looks at all sides of the problem frankly, and with but few reservations. These reservations are the private rights of the individual which the individual ought to be allowed to decide for himself without interference. On the other hand, he ruthlessly exposes the downright falsity of the larger facts of racial backgrounds, of social and economic, of sex and cultural relations, of "color psychosis." Commenting on Dr. Shaler's statement that "the experiment of combining in a democratic society, in some equal numbers, two such widely separated races as the Aryans and negroes has never been essayed. It may well be confessed that a true democracy, social as well as political, is impossible in such conditions, and that any adjustment which may be effected must have many of the qualities of an oligarchy"; he rightly says: "There is no objection to the frank recognition of such a proposition as Dr. Shaler put forward and to acquiescence in it. But to proclaim democracy; to shout freedom and equality, and actually to maintain that pseudo-democracy by oppressing and terrorism which compares favorably with the best efforts of the language of the politician and statesman so completely from the terms of the life he represents that every intelligent and enlightened man must smile at his pronouncements; to make integrity impossible because the South and the nation cannot face the deep division within itself—is to poison at their source the aspirations of the men whose faith looks

forward to societies untainted by violence." To regard this paragraph as a portrait of America should fill every man with despair; but it is not, it is a clear portrait of Woodrow Wilson, and as much as one may contemplate it with disgust and shame, there is a compensating hope that next November will sweep his "dynasty" from power for the good of America and all Americans.

PITTSBURG PA. DISPATCH  
MARCH 13, 1920

## Touching the Conscience

A pamphlet sent out by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People addressed to the "Conscience of the Civilized World" is in sobering contrast to a news story from Atlanta, Ga., a few days ago. The pamphlet contains statistics of lynchings in the United States during the last 30 years with special accounts of selected instances, and, viewed as a whole, is sickening testimony against the sense of fair play and common decency. Analysis of the lynchings strikes a blow at the traditional defense of the usual mob that summary vengeful punishments at the hands of popular executioners are for "the crime of the South," for 54 victims were Negro women. The pamphlet is an arraignment of mobs and lynch law without regard to whether the victims are black or white and in general is only what all civilized men and women everywhere have said to themselves, but means nothing until the public conscience has been touched more sharply than has been the case up to the present.

In contrast to the contents of this pamphlet is information sent out from Atlanta that an organization has been effected in that city with a nominal capital of \$500,000 to promote and finance home and farm buying among the Negroes of Georgia. The new interest will be chartered to conduct a general banking and trust company business, but its chief object will be to assist struggling Negro farmers and help tenant farmers to buy acreages for themselves on long time and at low rates of interest. Idle farm lands is waiting, the Negro population is eager for advancement, and the new company is to form the bridge between the two points. That the Negroes of Georgia or any other State far South and in the belt hostile because of race hatreds and frequent lynchings, should calmly organize to advance their material interests under such discouraging auspices speaks highly for their courage, obedience to orderly conditions, and hope for a quickening of the public conscience.



## Comments on Negro Literature.

## Darkwater

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

MAY 22, 1920

BY ELIA W. PEATTIE.

"**D**ARKWATER" is a work of genius; of fevered, angry, and terrific genius. It places its author, W. E. B. Du Bois, among the notable rebels of a rebellious time and makes him not, perhaps, so much the spokesman as the impassioned instigator of the two hundred million men and women of African blood. Nor is it alone for Africans that he speaks. He makes himself the defender and prophet of all races not white. He repudiates the idea that it is a virtue in itself to be white. He is up in arms against the determination of white men to subject colored men to their uses. And to his mind the world war was nothing more nor less than a clashing of European powers in their effort to secure for themselves the right of exploitation of colored races.

Most men, he points out, belong to the dark world. With Negro and Negroid, East Indian, Chinese, and Japanese, they form two-thirds of the population of the world. It is his belief that the destinies of the world will rest ultimately in the hands of the darker nations. And this dark world is thinking—so says this deeply angered prophet—"that as wild and awful as this shameful war was, it is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the white world cease. The dark world is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not one moment longer."

He continues: "Let me say this again and leave no room for mistaken meaning: The world war was primarily the jealous and avaricious struggle for the largest share in exploiting darker races. As such it is and must be but the prelude to the armed and indignant protest of these despised and raped peoples. Today Japan is hammering on the door of justice, China is raising her half-manacled hands to knock next, India is writhing for the freedom to knock, Egypt is sullenly muttering, the Negroes of South and West Africa, of the West Indies, and of the United States are just awakening to their shameful slavery."

He says truly enough that the greatest sin of the world is the despising of men, and he finds the United States more guilty of this offense than any other country.

So the accusation proceeds, sometimes true to the spirit and false to the letter of facts, sometimes true to the letter and false to the spirit; impossible to confute because of damning evidence, yet so distorted by violent bitterness, so warped by personal anguish as to defeat even while it intensifies the story.

It is not this almost delirious accusa-

tion, however, which gives to the book its element of genius. It is the interpretation of the minds and spirits of black folk and the presentation of their sufferings. He tells, too, of their joys and compensations. For them as for all other men, the beauty of the universe is revealed and for them as for others are visions and high dreams. These visions and dreams are revealed with a wild and passionate poetry. The capacity for enjoyment is increased by the power of suffering, and Du Bois, inheritor of French as well as African blood, has ever found his brain a battlefield. Here have warred the pride and instincts of two races. Here has robbed the courage that enables him to declare for his Negro blood as a citizen of Rome declared for his. And here has grown up a hatred of the Anglo-Saxon race in all its roots and branches, but more particularly the branch which occupies this country and which still regards itself as the champion of liberty.

In Du Bois is no compliance, no willingness to compromise, none of that pragmatism which made the late Booker Washington the judicious manipulator of a condition. Determined, defiant, and menacing, Prof. Du Bois's book is like a clenched hand; a black fist, shaken in the face of an arrogant and indifferent world. The essential justice of a part of what he says, the beauty of some of his Jeremiads, and the profound sincerity of the man lift him to a storm engulfed peak and leave him, it would seem, consumed with not ignoble rage beside the thunderers of history. The day may come when his book will be quoted as a veritable prophecy. This would undoubtedly be true were the white race what he thinks it is. Were its sins its whole spiritual composition then, indeed, it were doomed. But it is, perhaps, a case in point that Mr. Du Bois' book, with its compound of terrible truth and desperate misrepresentation, will be greeted with a magnanimity with which no book so violently accusatory of the black race would be accepted by any man of color.

But there is one thing indubitably true, never to be forgotten, never to be minimized, which Prof. Du Bois says. It is that the sin of sins is man's contempt of man.

## A Racial Jingo

The Old Aryan Idea and Fear of the "Lesser Breeds"

NY POST

JUNE 5, 1920

"The Rising" By Lothrop Stoddard. Charles Scribner's Sons.

**F**EAR of man is the beginning of hatred, and Mr. Stoddard has the distinction of trying to inculcate hate-engendering fear upon lines of unsurpassable sweep. The

antagonism of religions was once a universal and disastrous root of wars; the antagonism of nations has just counted its victims by the millions; but if white can be set against black, brown and yellow, then we may have Armageddon, indeed. A scientific, well-reasoned exposition of the present division of the globe among colors and races would be informing, and a thoughtful advocacy of policies to heighten mutual understanding and accommodation would be politically valuable. The world is large enough for men of all skins. Our own country demonstrates the possibility of the two races whose hues contrast most sharply living in amity and frequent affection. But Mr. Stoddard's book is not biologically or ethnologically scientific; not well reasoned from a historical standpoint; and, far from teaching friendliness and adjustment, preaches distrust and armed "preparedness."

The thesis may almost be read in the title. Mr. Stoddard has caught from older writers like the discredited Count Gobineau (whom he warmly praises) and younger writers like Madison Grant an important belief that the white race is innately superior to all colored races, and far superior to most. He thinks that a resentful envy obsesses the more alert among these colored races; that they feel a growing solidarity, and that the time approaches when the Mongolians, Ethiopians, "Amerinds" and other truculent lesser breeds may drive the superior but more delicate white race from the globe. He sees the white world unconscious of its danger, fighting a bloody "civil war" to weaken itself, allowing some of its greatest nations to ally themselves with colored countries, and smiling when others take colored vassals and teach them modern warfare. The world war he pictures as possibly the same prelude to a black-yellow invasion as the Peloponnesian War was to the Persian invasion of Greece. There are but 550,000,000 of us, he asserts, while there are nearly 1,200,000,000 colored people. By birth control we are checking our multiplication, while the colored races are learning from us the sanitation that keeps down the death rate, but paying no attention to birth control. He bids us look to the outer and inner dikes.

In the thesis as thus roughly stated there are outstanding contradictions. Mr. Stoddard makes much of the "inferiority" of the darker races, yet he figures them as potentially our conquerors. England ruled India before the war with 1,500 civil servants and 65,000 troops, handling a population of 400,000,000 without difficulty, although India contains great peoples about whose "inferiority" even Mr. Stoddard would hesitate to say much. Mr. Stoddard harps upon the vulnerability of the whites' situation, with two of the most extensive areas in their possession,

Australia and Siberia, sparsely occupied. But seated in those parts of the temperate zones best suited to nourish strength, controlling the seas and straits, fortified at every vantage point, the whites have really every advantage of strategic position. The author cannot forget the bloody divisions between white nations, but says nothing of the vast chasms which lie between the colored races, and the sizable ones between nations of the same race, as China and Japan. It is simply ridiculous to say that "The Russo-Japanese War produced all over the Dark Continent intensely exciting effects." And, of course, some of the "facts" of the book are as glaringly faulty as the theories. Men will long continue to differ on the question whether any one human race is innately inferior to another. Even the negro race has its defenders—Dr. Du Bois's little handbook on "The Negro" lists many—who regard it as equal in capacity to the boasted "Nordic." Any statement predicated on the belief that men of one particular skull-shape and skin-pigment are superior to men of another is, at least, open to question.

It is unnecessary to take very seriously such a volume, the authorities for which are E. A. Ross, William Bayard Hale, A. P. Schultz, the fanatic Gobineau and his disciple, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and such jingo writers for Japanese, Mohammedan and Mexican newspapers as the author could run down with the help of the *Literary Digest*. But its fundamental assumption ought to be taken seriously enough to be condemned. Why should we accept as natural and inevitable a clash between white and colored? Why should we look forward to ill-will rather than to good-will? In so far as an alliance between England and Japan seals a mutual regard, or is entered into for mutual help in worthy aims—not in imperialistic designs—it is commendable. The effort of whites to give the blacks, yellows and reds the benefits of what we call civilization will surely continue, regardless of the shrieks of a few men that they will turn our knowledge against ourselves. One object of the league is the development of self-governing black nations within Africa, to be given Caucasian tutelage until they have outgrown the need for it. Mr. Stoddard repeats alarmist stories of the Japanese infiltration into California—even the assertion of a Los Angeles paper that by 1949 a majority of the people may "be Japanese, ruling the State"—which sober research would have shown him were baseless. Where his attitude toward the negro and the Indian is not insultingly contemptuous, it is insultingly belligerent. We must rather hope for continued and increasing friendliness between the whites and the other races, and realize that where it is broken the responsibility will lie with the more advanced peoples—with our-

BROOKLYN N. Y. EAGLE

APRIL 24, 1920

NEGRO ARRAIGN STATE INJUSTICE.

In a general way the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People represents the ~~Colored~~ and as ~~representations~~ of all the millions of colored folk in the United States. It publishes an organ known as the Crisis. That organ, of course, preaches the doctrine of race equality under the law. It is entitled to do so under the principle of "free speech and a free press." Interference by Mississippi with the circulating of this newspaper is what has led to the hot arraignment of that State by the negroes' organization, which amounts to an assertion that the "republican form of government," which the Nation is directed by the Constitution to guarantee to every State, does not exist in Mississippi.

A negro minister whose only crime was selling copies of the Crisis was arrested in a Mississippi village, convicted under a State law, fined \$400 and ordered imprisoned for five months at hard labor. To give bond for appeal a lawyer went to the county town to a justice of the peace, who told him that if the minister were released he would be lynched, and refused the bond which had previously been accepted by the sheriff. Then a mob of 300 whites surrounded the lawyer and informed him that he would be lynched if he did not drop the case. The association being informed of the facts sent a message to the Governor of the State demanding protection for the forms of law made and provided by Mississippi statutes. The answer came from the Lieutenant Governor:

The Rev. E. R. Franklin, given five months sentence on the county farm and fine of \$400 for distributing copies of Crisis, in the pages of which was advocacy of social equality and intermarriage between races. The mildness of his sentence was because of his ignorance. If the editors of this sheet would visit Mississippi we would make an example of them that would be a lasting benefit to the colored people of the South and would not soon be forgotten.

Further appeal to the actual Governor has been unanswered. The expression above shown is reasonably held to be the answer of a sovereign State, through its duly chosen executive, to representatives of a race which is actually in a numerical majority, or very close to it, in the State itself. An American commonwealth is lined up on the side of lynch law. Mississippi assumes to control the editing of papers published in the North, on penalty of preventing circulation within her borders. This was done in old slave days.



We suppose a circulator of abolition literature would have fared about as this minister fares now. But optimists had believed things were changed down there, and their belief seems to have been singularly ill-based.

## Would Jail

**Afro Editors**

**Declares**

There Is Plenty Of Room

For Them In Towson

Lock-up

**SPEAKS TOO BOLDLY**

**Paper Should Be Suppressed**

**For Creating "Discontent"**

**Among Colored Voters**

For printing an article criticizing the present judicial system in Maryland, the AFRO-AMERICAN should be suppressed and its editors jailed, according to an article of the last issue of the Jeffersonian, a white weekly paper published in Towson, Maryland.

An editorial in the AFRO discussing the Fountain and Snowden cases and calling the attention to colored men for judges and colored men on juries, drew this statement from the Jeffersonian.

"If the AFRO-AMERICAN of July 23rd had been published in one of the states farther south, the probabilities are that the publisher would have been hanged long before this. The idea of having colored men to preside over the Judiciary of Maryland!"

The article goes on, "there is plenty of room at this time in the Towson Jail for offender or offenders in question and the people of Baltimore County will not complain about the board bill no matter how long he or they may be detained within the jail with hospitable walls."

"The cartoon showing Fountain on the scaffold was said by the Jeffersonian to have calculated to inculcate in the colored mind, (meaning in minds of colored persons) disrespect for the Judiciary of Maryland, AS MINISTERED AS IT AND ALWAYS WILL BE BY WHITE MEN OF THE HIGHEST LEARNING AND INTEGRITY."

Although the Jeffersonian does not believe in colored men as jurors and judges and evidently favors the short shrift given colored people who have the "temerity" at the "affrontery" not to agree with white people, it publishes the sentence, taken from the writing of Thomas Jefferson, as the pri-

ciples on which it was founded. "Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religion or politics."

## "THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR"

AMONG THE NEW BOOKS of the day is a work by Stoddard entitled "The Rising Tide of Color." A careful perusal of the book stamps it as a work of more than passing interest. It deals with the newly awakened spirit of the colored races throughout the world. That there is an awakening cannot be denied. One sees it on every hand, in a more assertive press, in the pulpit and in the field of industry. The new movement gets much of its energizing force from the pressure exerted by the white races of the earth.

NO NATION has contributed so much to this so-called color tide as America. Here color is a dementia. The entire social fabric is warped and woofed with it. The American thinks, eats and sleeps in terms of color. Not even the slightest mention for good or bad is made of a man of Color without the addition of the qualifying noun Negro. No racial designation is considered necessary in speaking of any other group.

THE CONSTANT PLAY upon the word Negro has made us a marked people. It keeps us a thing set apart, separate, distinct, different. It makes us a something to be shunned, despised, condemned. Nowhere is this so noticeable as in the press of this country. Here it amounts almost to a propaganda. "Negro Lynched," "Negro Burned at the Stake," "Negro Assaults White Woman," "Black, Burly Brute Pursued by Mob," are some of the color bugaboos that are almost of daily use as headlines in our press.

THE INJURY DONE US comes as a matter of evil suggestion, and is almost irreparable. We become subjects of table and fireside discussion. Over the morning coffee women and little children hear a recital of all the vices charged to us and learn to associate them with our color. The tale of the good we do generally remains untold. To the average white child the true story of the American Negro is a sealed book. He learns little from the press, little from his teachers in the public schools, and rarely anything from his parents in the home circle, except the blacker side. Small wonder is it, then, that we live in a land where colorphobia has become a national disease.

BUT THE AMERICAN is nothing if not a missionary. He has carried his color madness to all points of the world. He has sought to impress his viewpoint upon every people that have given him hospitality and asylum. He has made his dislike of the Negro's color a theme for discussion in the bar rooms and hotels of England, and as a soldier upon the battlefields of France, he showed more concern about that nation's attitude toward us socially than the part we were to play as instruments of war. The manifestation of this evil spirit has stirred us with the deepest resentment, a resentment that has touched responsive chord in all the colored peoples of the civilized and semi-civilized world. Among the republics of South America, in Mexico, China and Japan, in every land where dark blood prevails, the tide is rising in mighty protest against the overwhelming arrogance of assumed superiority.

FOR MUCH OF THIS AMERICAN SPIRIT toward us we do not hold ourselves blameless. We permitted them to enslave us for more than two centuries. We freely confess our shame for this much of our history. Our ancestors should not have permitted it. They should have resisted to the point of extermination. Death is always preferable to dishonor. The Indian resisted with scalping knife, tomahawk and firebrand, and made the white man respect him and his children. We tamely submitted to his yoke. We tilled his fields, rocked the

cradle of his infancy, protected his womanhood with our lives, and followed him to victory and to death upon many a battlefield. The Indian who fought him is loved and honored. We who served him are despised and condemned. The case certainly furnishes one of the world's anomalies.

BUT EMANCIPATION freed the Negro; it may yet civilize the American white man. He once burned white women for witchcraft. He outgrew this form of savagery as he outgrew slavery. He may in time become too highly civilized to lynch and burn Negroes at the stake. He may in time learn to respect the law and its machinery. He may also learn that it is very bad logic to reason from a particular case to a general rule.

## THE AMERICAN NEGRO AND THE CURRENT THOUGHT

Nearly every paper or magazine we pick up to read has something to say concerning the Negro in it. The race itself is so constantly being called upon to discuss and think of things concerning itself that it scarcely has time to project its thoughts or its discussions outside of itself.

One of the late magazines has the following from a professor in the University of Missouri:

"I feel it my duty to challenge the wisdom of the majority report of the Senate Military Affairs committee which approved a provision for compulsory military training in the army reorganization bill.

"All the more thoughtful students of social and political conditions with whom I have talked express amazement that Congress should consider with favor such a provision. The universal training of large populations has invariably been followed in history by increased political disturbances, both internal and external; and with our mixed population we could scarcely look for a different result in our case.

"What, for example, will be the effect upon our Negro population of this universal training in the use of arms and in organized military action? No citizen of the South or of the North either, for that matter, can look with equanimity upon the training in military tactics of two million Negroes.

"The growing restlessness and resentfulness of our Negro population makes it more than possible that such military knowledge might be used by them to attempt to redress real, or fancied wrongs by organized force."

I do not think the writer need have any fear of the Negro from the standpoint of universal military training; because as a rule, most of the Negroes do not care for military life to that extent as to have it compulsory.

When called upon, he is always willing to respond and to do his duty, and of course, it would be the duty of the government to see that the Negro is as well prepared for military service as any of its other citizens; and not only that, but that he shall receive all the just deserts secured by that service. If he is deprived of his rights, it does not follow that because of his military training, he will become rebellious, and try by force of arms, to secure them. That he will become more insistent for his rights, — after having fought for them, — it is reasonable to suppose, but because of this he should not be classed either as an anarchist or a Bolshevik.

Whatever view we may take of the race question, and however blue at times we may feel over the injustices meted out to the race, we cannot allow ourselves to become pessimistic, especially when we think of our past progress and present achievements.

That the Negroes in the United States are doing their part toward working their way out is amply proven by what they have already done, even under the most adverse conditions. At the close of the world war there were 4,500,000 Negroes in the United States practically penniless; not so today. We await the new census for recent figures of the population and wealth, and I am sure that when the figures are compiled they will be agreeably surprising.

The old narrow-minded uneducated leaders, whose sole aim was that of selfish aggrandisement, are giving way to this newer type of leaders. If we can succeed in supplanting the old leaders in politics by this newer type, much more can be accomplished in that line. The progress already made furnishes a most encouraging outlook. Then let us not be weary in well-

doing, but keep up the struggle to the end.



## A RACIAL PROGRAM.

**M**ESSRS. JOSEPH D. BIBB and William C. Linton, the editors of the Chicago Whip, have given to the reading public a virile, manly journal. A recent number of the paper contained a suggestive editorial entitled "No Colored Daily." The editorial says: "The question has been raised why 12,000,000 colored Americans have no daily publication of consequence in the United States. The argument in favor of this worthy enterprise is that the Poles, Lithuanians, Chinese, Japanese, Jews, Hungarians, Greeks, and Germans can boast of numerous publications that are released daily. These people religiously support and read their papers. They swear by them and are swayed economically, politically, morally and mentally by the printed words in their columns. WHY DON'T NEGROES DEMAND AND CREATE ONE FOR THEMSELVES?"

The Negro is more than 99 per cent. English speaking. He thinks, reads and writes in English. The foreigner as a rule THINKS in the tongue of the motherland even though he may read and write English fluently. They retain for the most part a "foreign psychology" which the foreign daily in many respects fosters.

The Negro, the "marrow of tradition," notwithstanding has the American psychology; that is, the white man's psychology, which means that the Negro is inferior and is a tenant in America by sufferance only and a real scientist.

The Negro weekly publications are forcing him to think independently and to awake within his apathetic soul the old racial consciousness that traced the features upon the face of the immortal Sphinx. The Negro weeklies are preaching race unity in politics, business and morality. When the Negro begins to think separately and independently of the native white man, he will demand a separate and distinct philosophy, news matter and industry. It is incumbent upon the weeklies to break the ground for the dailies. The task can be accomplished in a comparatively short time if honest and intelligent editors feed the brain of the famished colored Americans.

The desire to have the Negro think independently and evolve a race consciousness is a worthy idea. No race or individual has ever made any contribution to civilization which did not possess some individuality and followed the dialectics of its own nature. The Hebrew gave to the world the monotheistic conception of deity; the Greek, philosophy, literature and art; the Roman, law and government; the German, philosophy and theology; the Frenchman, literature and music; the Italian, art and music; the Anglo-Saxon, representative government and applied science, and the Hindoo race, pantheism, because each race or nation developed along unique and original lines.

The great men who have shaped human history and human destiny, like Abraham, Moses, Jesus of Nazareth, the Apostle Paul, Mohammed, Martin Luther, John Calvin, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, William the Conqueror, Oliver Cromwell, Christopher Columbus, Napoleon, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln; and the men who have shaped the world's philosophic and scientific thought, like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Archimedes, Copernicus, Newton, Kepler, Galileo, Sir Francis Bacon, Kant, Hegel, Lotze, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Willard Gibbs, Lord Kelvin, Harvey, Koch, Metchnikoff, Sir William Crookes and Sir Oliver Lodge, have done so because they gave free room and play for their genius for war, statesmanship, religion or philosophic or scientific thought.

So, too, if the Negro is to make a dent in human history and become a factor in human life, he must not be feeble imitator of the Anglo-Saxon and a smaller edition of the white man, but must permit his genius for religion, theology, art, music and eloquence to ripen and unfold. The exceptional men we have already produced, like Mohammed Askia, Mansa Musa, Touissant L'Ouverture, Emperor Menelik of Abyssinia, Frederick Douglass, Alexander Crummell, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Samuel Coleridge Taylor and Henry M. Tanner, have climbed the heights of human achievement because they followed an inner prompting, were true to the law of their being and heeded Emerson's advice to "be yourself."

The recent World War, the League of Nations, the labor troubles all over the world, the race prejudice in America, Britain's trouble with her

colonies, and the exploitation of the blacks in the West Indies indicates that the Caucasian's theology and applied ethics needs some revision. And perhaps it may yet be given to the Negro to teach the world the meaning of Christianity and democracy. Despite his marvellous achievements in material things, the Caucasian has much to learn in spiritual affairs.

But while this is true, it is only partially true that foreigners "retain for the most part a foreign psychology," which the foreign daily in many respects fosters, and there is a grave danger of the Negro thinking separately and independently of the native white man and demanding "a separate and distinct philosophy." The very nature of science and philosophy is that they are universal in their scope and application. Plato has appealed to thinkers of various races for over two thousand years, because of the universality of the truths which he presented. Jesus of Nazareth, a despised Jew, dominated the thought of Graeco-Roman civilization, of Teutonic, Celtic and Latin nations and the Negro, because his doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man appealed to men of different races and climes. No man can be a real philosopher or scientist whose thought and intellectual horizon are bounded by the limits of race or nationality. It is only when his thought and science transcends the limitation of race and nationality, makes a universal appeal to humanity, that a man becomes a real philosopher and a real scientist.

It was only because Newton, in discovering a law of gravitation, grasped a principle of nature which not only applied to the Englishman but to men everywhere and binded the whole stellar universe together, that he goes down in history as a great philosopher. It was because Professor Willard Gibbs of Yale gave expression to universal scientific and philosophic truths which appealed to English, French and German, as well as American thinkers, that he goes down in history as America's greatest scientific and mathematical genius. Shakespeare is regarded as the world's greatest poet because of his universality. His powerful dramas, his heroes and heroines, and his poetry, where he crystallizes human life and experience in a few lines, appeal to men everywhere.

It was our good fortune while in college to sit under a German and a Spanish teacher of philosophy. They were loyal to their native lands. But they were not trying to teach German or Spanish philosophy but the world's philosophy. It was our fortune to sit under the world's master in psychology, William James of Harvard. He was a New Englander with a dash of Irish in his blood. He didn't teach American or Celtic psychology, but delved into the English, the French, the German, the Hindoo, the Japanese, the Indian and the Negro mind. He studied every kind and type of mind and that is why his "Will to Believe" applies to white, yellow, brown, and black men alike.

Nations which live to themselves, like China and India, and close their eyes to the progress of other races in science and philosophy, usually become the prey of more powerful and aggressive races. Israel has been cited as the nation which sui generis evolved the idea of a righteous God, but the children of Israel were in contact in the early stages of their history with the Sumers, Akkads, Babylonians, Egyptians and Phoenicians and learned a great deal from them, especially from the Sumers and Akkads. Moses studied in the University of Heliopolis and was steeped in Egyptian lore. And his Ten Commandments are the crystallized wisdom of antiquity.

Men commonly speak of the present American civilization as the white man's civilization, as if it was the sole product of the Anglo-Saxon mind, when in reality it is a garment that was woven from many sources. In the days of Imperial Rome, the Germans, the Gauls, the Celts and Britains were wild and barbarous, but four cultured waves reached them and affected them. The first cultural wave was Christianity as brought to them by the Christian Monks. The second cultural wave was the Graeco-Roman civilization, which derived its starting point from Egypt. The third cultural wave was the Arabian philosophy and learning. The Arabian philosophy was translated into Latin in the twelfth century, and Arabian learning began to spread over Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century. Charles Morris in his "Civilization and Historical Review" states that the influence of Arabian schools on the rise of institutions of learning in Europe must have been considerable. And then came the Renaissance—the revival of learning or rediscovery of the



Greek mind. And then Germany with her philosophy and theology, France with her literature and science, and Italy with her music and art began to teach English-speaking people something.

The result has been that the present Caucasian civilization in which the Negro finds himself environed, whatever its strength and defects, represents a tree that has grown from various ethnic roots. The Brooklyn Bridge, the subway, the underground tubes connecting New York with Brooklyn and Jersey City, the Woolworth Building, the Flatiron Building, and the Grand Central and Pennsylvania railroad terminals in New York represent what the human mind has discovered in mathematics, mechanics, engineering and architecture during the past three thousand years.

What the Negro needs to do is to do what the children of Israel and what the Englishmen, the Americans and Japanese have done—maintain his individuality and unique native gifts and learn what the rest of the world has to teach him.

The editor of the Chicago Whip says "the Negro has the American psychology, that is, the white man's psychology, which means that the Negro is inferior and is a tenant in America by sufferance only." The thought is all right but the phraseology is defective. It would be more correct to say "the Negro has the white man's ethnology and anthropology" rather than the "white man's psychology." Psychology deals with those constitutional modes of behavior of the human mind, such as sensation, perception, memory, association of ideas, emotion, volition, imagination and reflective thought, which are common in a greater or less degree to all men—black, brown, copper colored, yellow and white—while ethnology deals with the theory of races.

And the Negro should set himself resolutely against the ethnology which is taught in present-day histories and geographies, namely, that certain races are superior or inferior. When the Egyptians and Ethiopians had attained a high degree of civilization, the Romans and the Greeks were a primitive people. When Greece reached the high-water mark of her civilization in the age of Pericles, and when Rome reached the high-water mark of her civilization in the Augustinian age, the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons were roaming as savages in German forests, painting their bodies with woad and offering up human beings as sacrifices on druidic altars. Julius Caesar said that the Britains were too dull to even make good slaves. In human history, nothing is static, everything is mutable. Let one or two thousand years pass and some of the top races go to the bottom and some of the bottom races ascend to the top. So no prophet can predict the heights to which the Negro will rise in the next century or two, if he believes in God, believes in himself and will learn what other races have to teach him. Give the Negro faith in himself and an open mind and he will not only make headway in Western civilization under the Caucasian milieu, but on his native soil he will once more revive the ancient glories of Egypt, Ethiopia and Timbuctoo. However much the Negro may learn from others, he must retain his individuality and self-respect. Otherwise he will only believe that he can do the things others tell him he can do. And above all he should remember that in the economy of the universe, a man's status is determined not by the color of his skin or the texture of his hair, but by his brain power, his soul, his will force, his muscle and nerve force. Force—intellectual, moral, physical, industrious, political and financial—is the thing that causes men and races to rise or fall.

### RECONCILIATION?

WE have heard echoes of a philosophical dissertation upon the Sermon on the Mount. About a month ago, at a certain lyceum in New York city, a colored poet championed a theory of the Reconciliation of the Races, which brought the Sermon on the Mount down to date, and he pictured the day when the sons and daughters of Ham and Japeth would dwell together in peace and concord like the proverbial lamb and the lion in holy writ.

The utopian dream of this poet aroused the wrathful ire and righteous indignations of a Negro scholar, writer and orator, and he sent an article to The Negro World on the subject, which is hot stuff. It is a very interesting article, but it is seasoned with so much red pepper, pepper salt, vinegar and burning mustard that we are not sure whether it might not be best to postpone its appearance until after Christmas.

The scholar thinks that the Caucasian is devoid of those divine attributes which can evoke the sentiments of love, veneration and worshipful admiration from the Negro who is disfranchised, jim-crowed, segregated and lynched in a certain section of America.

Now who is right—the poet or the scholar? Plato wrote his "Republic," More his "Utopia" and Edward Bellamy "Looking Backward," and still the world moved on in its course as if these thinkers had never dreamed fond dreams. And so it is with the philosophizing of the poet and scholar. This is what the Negro workman is up against. He has a wife and child to feed and clothe and room rent to provide for. Then he wants a little surplus change for Christmas, and if he is prudent he will desire to lay aside something for a rainy day. Monday morning, when he starts out from home, he is not speculating as to how much he loves the Caucasian or the Caucasian loves him. His thought is, "Can I get a job along lines in which I am proficient?" He gets the job. Saturday night he is not speculating about the emotion of love, but he says "Now I have put in a full week's work and want the proportionate pay," and he gets the expected \$50 or \$60. When he goes into any store to expend that money he is not speculating as to whether or no the proprietor loves him, but all he wants is value for value received. If he pays for fresh food he doesn't want cold storage stuff. All he wants is that the dealer be honest and square.

And so it is throughout the ramifications of life. Whether the Negro and the Caucasian do or do not love each other, they meet daily in America in trade, commerce and industry. Usually the Negro works for one Caucasian and buys the necessities and comforts of life from another Caucasian.

This poet has studied in a Caucasian university and this scholar has studied the works of Caucasian scholars. Both the poet and the scholar, like most colored editors and authors, have had the newspapers and magazines they have edited and the books and pamphlets they have written published by Caucasian printing concerns. Nearly all the clothing the poet and scholar have worn has been manufactured by the Caucasian. Nearly all the food they have eaten has been prepared by him. Practically all of the railroads, subways, trolleys and steamship lines they have traveled on have been built and are operated by the Caucasian. So already a considerable reconciliation has gone on and is going on in the agricultural, economic, industrial and commercial world between the Caucasian and the Negro.

But probably what the poet and the scholar have in mind is political, civil and social recognition and reconciliation. For over three centuries the Caucasian world has been reconciled to the Negro as a hewer of wood, drawer of water, cultivator of tobacco, picker of cotton and digger of canals. Now the acid test of the twentieth century democracy and Christianity world is "Will the Caucasian world be reconciled when it sees the Negro emerging from his status of serf and servant and striving for full economic, political, civic and social equality?"

The consideration of these questions involves a discussion as to how man came by his brute inheritance, whether he fell from grace or ascended from the ape and as to whether the world has evolved to the point where it could take the Sermon on the Mount seriously.

These are very delicate and complicated questions, and we will postpone their consideration until after Christmas. Meanwhile let us make merry and rejoice during the Christmas holidays.



# Comments on Negro Literature.

## ETERNAL ALIENS.

One of the literary editors of the New York Herald in a review of a recent publication of serious fiction on the Negro has referred to us as "eternal aliens."

The words are an insult in that they attempt to give the lie to the history of three hundred years and imply a strange quality of soul foreign to Negro Americans.

Aliens are strangers whose bent by tradition renders them unwilling or unable to become harmoniously and easily inoculated with or reconciled to the principles and precepts of those among whom they may come.

We are not aliens. Our souls may have acquired a warping in certain directions due to bearing the full force of a racial hatred applied unceasingly upon us for many generations, but we are indeed and in truth Americans.

When we admit any peculiar characteristics of soul we refer only to that quality inherent in us which enables us under any and all circumstances, however hard they may be, to smile, remain cheerful, and maintain our determination finally to win our desired success in spite of hardship. Such a quality of soul is seldom found among the races of men. It characterizes us and its very existence in us is what renders us "mysterious of soul" to others who know and realize that under like conditions they could not have so maintained themselves.

We are so linked to America and its life that it seems almost impossible for one to truthfully term us aliens.

We have loved and respected its flag. Our love has been proven by our valor in its defense in every American war. We have snatched it from the jaws of disgrace and defeat on occasions when others had given up in despair.

We have aided substantially in the general growth and prosperity of America. We have felled its forests, tilled its fields, dugged its ditches, furnished man power for its industries and increased its wealth by producing more than we have consumed.

We have done our share in developing its ages of growth in enlightenment. Our inventions are numerous and our contributions to the sum total of its scientific progress have been more than commensurate with the opportunity for keeping pace with this enlightenment granted us as a group.

We have revered and adhered to the fundamental American principle, the truth upon which its constitution is based and the spirit in which its laws should be administered. We believe absolutely that "all men are created equal" and that to every man should be given the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We have believed in this inalienable right and have hoped for its final acquisition by us. We have proven that we believe thus.

But unfortunately, it seems that our proof has failed of its positiveness because of the wish, father of the thought, as expressed in discrimination, exploitation, disfranchisement, segregation, lynch law and the thousand other "isms" that we are, and must ever be considered, "eternal aliens." Often we are aliens in that we are unacquainted with American justice and constitutional equity. We have never experienced the full, enjoyment of free rights which, by constitutional grant, are accorded every other American group whether native or only recently naturalized.

We do not intend even to be "eternal aliens" to justice and fairplay, for we realize that only to those whose vision is limited and whose judgment has been warped by the slave system which

cultified sectional consciences, are we "aliens."

The sentiment which would create such an impression is un-American. It is based on prejudice and absolutely without truth.

We, with all other true Americans and much more than some who claim so to be, are striving to make America foremost. We realize that as America advances we advance.

We revere her principles, respect her traditions, obey her laws and fight for her flag—gladly for they are ours.

Such is not the behavior of aliens. And, to one, realizing that we do this in spite of the hindrances to undivided loyalty which a certain class of her citizens place in our path, we are more than citizens and are extraordinary in our largeness of soul more nearly supermen than aliens.

NEW YORK CITY GLOBE

JUNE 4, 1920

## NEGRO WORKERS AND NEGRO "RIGHTS."

According to Gerard Robinson, writing in the Freeman, the American Negro is being forced into a menacing position. He is 15,000,000 strong, and has a greater degree of education and training than ever before. He desires certain immunities and privileges—freedom from lynching, for instance; equal educational opportunity with the whites, and the right to vote. If he cannot get these from American liberals, he will seek them from American radicals. His organs—the Crisis, the Messenger, the Negro World—are preaching his power to him. He may yet throw this power to the "reds" as a last resort. Indeed, the Negro membership in the I. W. W. is already proportionately larger than the white.

The consequences of such an action hold unpleasant possibilities. Mr. Robinson's analysis and prophecy are the more disquieting because there is no question that the Negro has an economic power such as he has never possessed before. For the first time in his history he is more wanted industrially than wanting. He was once glad of a job and the right to live. To-day speakers at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Atlanta find that over 2,000,000 Negroes are now residents of northern states to 102,000 in 1910. This shift in population is acknowledgedly a response to a call for labor. Chicago has had evidence of it in a Negro industrial population sufficient to cause a race riot. Detroit has 35,000 Negroes, most of them called to her shops. Nor does the south view this migration with complacency. She is disturbed about it and anxious to check it while she can. So much white speakers have told us at Atlanta in the last few days.

But this very attitude on the part of southern whites is making against a Negro stampede to socialism or anarchism. The economic importance of the Negro is gaining him attention which apparently looks toward a new relationship. The mayor of Atlanta and the president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce have addressed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its convention. The Atlanta plan, which has been operating for some time, indicates the possibility of composing differences peacefully between the two races. The southern attitude, in other words, shows a susceptibility to modification. How far such modification can go no one will venture to say. The situation demands solutions. Like labor, however, it will probably develop its code as it goes, instead of

prescribing beforehand. While it shows any ability to achieve results it is improbable that radicalism will have the chance it hopes for. Negro intellectuals are more interested in a few simple reforms than in new economic systems. They will pursue these reforms while there is hope. The very power which Mr. Robinson fears will carry them to the "reds" is apparently giving them the practical encouragement which will make them indifferent to anarchistic or socialistic doctrine.

## SUPPRESSING FREE SPEECH

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is doing a national service in keeping close watch on the legislation in Congress that vitally affects Negroes, calls attention to section six of the Graham Sedition Bill, now before the House, which reads: 1-23-20.

That every book, magazine, newspaper, document, handbill, poster or written, pictorial, or printed matter, memorandum, sign, symbol, or communication of any form \* \* \* wherein and whereby an appeal is made to racial prejudice the intended or probable result of which appeal is to cause rioting or the resort to force and violence within the United States or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, is hereby declared to be nonmailable, and the same shall not be deposited in any postoffice for mailing or be conveyed in the mails or delivered from any post office or by any letter carrier."

The practical effect of this section, should it become a law, will be to give the Postmaster the power to bar from the mails a large number of colored publications. Any newspaper or magazine that prints the truth about lynching, that urges Negroes to vote, or protests against Jimcrow cars, in other words, agitate for the rights of full American citizenship will be construed as making an appeal to racial prejudice, and kept out of the mails.

The House Committee held its hearing on the bill Thursday of this week, and pressure was exerted by the National Association and other bodies to kill the measure. Perhaps they may not succeed and in that case it will be up to colored and white people everywhere to express themselves to members of Congress against this measure, which bridle free speech.



# OUR PRESSING PROBLEM OF RACES.

N. Y. C. WORLD  
SEPTEMBER 26

## Herbert Seligman's Book of the New Negro and His Economic Place—The Life Story of Robert Moton—"The Voice of the Negro" From His Own Editorial Pages.

In Herbert J. Seligman's book, "The Negro Faces America" (Harpers), there is little that is new, nothing that is sensational and much that may be helpful with regard to one of the most vital of our domestic problems. Mr. Seligman has reviewed very broadly, with an earnestness which only occasionally passes into overzealousness, the historical, the humane, the economic and the social case of the negro in America. And he hopes his chapters will be of aid in banishing the "shabby indifference" of the masses in the United States toward wrongs inflicted on the colored race. He does not deny the fact of betterment and progress in racial relations.

Quite truthfully Mr. Seligman fixes upon the issue of "Social Equality and Sex" as the leading provocative of trouble. It furnishes the note of agitation which is sounded for selfish political purposes and to other mischievous ends. "When the term 'social equality' is divested of its special significance and is used literally to mean equal treatment for human beings on the basis of their common humanity, a long step will have been taken toward the elimination of the rope, the torch and the gun from American Government." The theory that race riots, under modern tension, present encouraging aspects because of leading to "a new standing and a new recognition of the negro," as of "an adversary who stands his ground," is interesting without being wholly convincing.

Mr. Seligman asks for the negro acceptance among "the constituent problems of democracy," fair treatment by "a free press serving the people with news, not rumor and innuendo," and full opportunity in the industrial processes by which he lives. "It will be largely on the job and in the labor union," we read, "that the identity of interest of the colored worker and the white will be demonstrated, probably despite all efforts to maintain the color line in industry by using unorganized colored men to break white strikes."

Also bearing with interest and enlightenment upon the racial issue in the United States, there is published "Finding a Way Out" (Doubleday, Page & Co.) by Robert Russa Moton, successor to the late Booker T. Washington as head of the Tuskegee Institute. This is the well written autobiography of a negro who has risen to eminence through his own ability and endeavor. Mr. Moton did fine service in the war days, with special regard to men of his race who went to fight in France, and he is able to cite most cordial letters of appreciation from Mr. Wilson. To him there appears a most wonderful change from the days "when most Southern white men felt that there was nothing about the question of the negro to discuss with anybody, and especially with persons

whose opinions were likely to differ from their own." He has seen in the years since the Civil War the race problem come to the point where it may be discussed without the old passion and prejudice.

In his book "The Voice of the Negro" (Dutton) Robert T. Kerlin calls attention to the fact that the colored people of America are turning now for news and guidance to papers of their own. A score of the great cities and many smaller towns have papers published by negroes. New York has ten of them. In the State of Georgia are nine, in Mississippi nineteen, in Illinois eleven, in California seven. With great care, Mr. Kerlin has gathered from the negro press of the land editorial articles and news reports which, as reproduced, fill 180 pages of his book and



# ADVERTISEMENTS IN "CRISIS"

## OBJECTED TO

### GREENSBORO CITIZEN SENDS PROTEST TO N. C. SENATORS

#### PROF. C. H. MOORE ANSWERS CRITICISM

The following news item by Parker R. Anderson, Washington correspondent of the Raleigh Times and of the Greensboro Daily, Record appeared in the Times and also the Daily Record on March 20th:

(By Parker R. Anderson)

Washington, March 20—One of the most prominent citizens of Greensboro, whose name is withheld, has called the attention of Senators Simmons and Overman to the advertising expenditure of the Negro A & T. College of Greensboro, incident to publication of an advertisement in The Crisis, a Negro magazine, published in New York City.

Objection is not made to advertising A. & T. College in any proper medium but it is contended that the tax payers of the State, contributing to the support of that college, probably would not approve payment of money to a magazine with the racial policy of the Crisis.

The Crisis is a Negro publication edited by W. E. B. Dubois and published under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of the colored people. Much of its space is devoted to a denunciation of lynchings in the South and of State officials who are charged with neglect of duty in apprehending the lynchings, and also in demands that

the federal government enact anti-lynching legislation. Further than this the publication from time to time injects a note of social equality. Senator Simmon's correspondent says:

"This publication at the beginning of the war had a circulation of some 31,000. In 1919 it had 1,138,000. So you can readily see how the Negroes of the South are taking to it. What a great benefit it would be were it on the right line. But instead of that they are inclined to inject into the Negro social equality and all other such propaganda, which if allowed to continue in time will cause our state and the entire South a great deal of trouble."

Attention is called also to a request of the February edition of the Crisis that all colored voters wire their congressmen and senators to oppose the Sterling and Graham sedition bills. One clause in these documents prohibit the circulation of printed matter wherein an appeal is made to racial prejudice which might result in rioting or violence, such as was experienced recently in the National Capital when race riots continued for three days with a loss of a number of lives from both races and when it was not safe for white women to be alone in the streets of certain sections of the city.

"Now, in my opinion such a book as the Crisis should not be deposited

in the post office for mailing. I wish to call your attention to the fact that the Negro A. & T. College of Greensboro carries a quarter page advertisement signed by J. D. Dudley, president. This I took up with him and you will find enclosed copy of letter which I wrote him regarding the advertisement. I know you can appreciate it is not my intention to do the institution or Dudley any harm, but I do not believe the taxpayers of North Carolina would appreciate the usage of that portion of their taxes which goes to pay for the advertisement in such a publication.

In the letter to the president of the Negro college the writer says the college is doing a good work for the colored race but he suggests that having heard so much criticism of The Crisis he doubts the propriety of advertising in it because, the correspondent says, "I think this publication does more harm to the Negro than good."

Prof. C. H. Moore, State Inspector of Colored Schools and Rosenwald Agent writing in The Daily Record in reply to the above article speaks as follows:

"Editor The Daily Record:

Some one has well said, "Truth is the light of the world." Since this is so, I beg, with your permission, to turn the light on the article "Protest Against Advertising Done by Negro College," etc., which was sent out from Washington city by your special correspondent, Parker R. Anderson, and was published the Daily Record Saturday afternoon, the 20th that any one who may not be blinded by race prejudice may have a chance to see the truth in the premises.

In the first place, because one advertises in a particular journal it

does not necessarily prove that he endorses every opinion expressed by its publisher, for we know of many a Negro who sometimes puts an advertisement in some rabid democratic paper that abuses and says all manner of mean things politically and otherwise about the race to which he belongs, which naturally he could not approve of; but desiring, however, to reach a certain class of readers of the paper, it was simply a matter of business with him to advertise in it and not necessarily one of sentiment or partiality.

Now the Crisis having, so "one of the most prominent citizens of Greensboro" says 1,138,000 subscribers, Prof. Jas. B. Dudley, being president of one of the leading schools in the south for the educational training for future usefulness of the Negro youth, as a matter of fact, is very much interested as he should be, in that the A. & T. college should become known to 12,000,000 Negroes of the country and that they should likewise know for what it stands. Therefore, regardless of the personal opinion of the editor of the Crisis on any particular subject, but with an eye for business and an increased enrollment of students, he very wisely resorts to the columns of the magazine to secure the widest publicity for the institution over which he presides.

Second, as to the indictment by "Senator Simmons' Greensboro correspondent that the Negro publication referred to, published under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is in favor of Negro social equality," etc., we wish to say he is very much in error.

Just here, however, we shall let the editor of the Crisis define his own position on this particular subject. In the November, 1919, number of the magazine, Dr. Dubois says regarding "social equality" that:

"Every time the American Negro seeks reasonably and earnestly to bring his case before the white south and the nation the bourbons proceed to throw dust in the eyes of the public by screaming frantically 'social equality.' That bogey can be easily met. If 'social equality' means the right to vote, the abolition of 'Jim Crow' cars, the stoppage of lynching, universal education and civil rights, then social equality is exactly what we want."

Furthermore, in the same volume the editor also says:

"We do not countenance violence. Our fight is against violence. We are fighting, as we always have fought for the reign of law over the reign of mob. No sane man or woman can for a minute advise any group to use the torch or the gun to right the wrong of violence. Only in self-defense can such a course ever be considered justifiable. But we must fight in every legitimate and lawful way until our problem is entirely settled."

Social justice not "social equality," for the Negro of this country is what the Crisis and the organization which it represents are contending for, and any person who peruses the columns of the magazine with unprejudiced eyes and an open mind will arrive at the same conclusion. The two terms are not identical, but antipodal as any one having an average acquaintance with common English well knows.

And besides, no sane and intelligent Negro aspires after "social equality." He is not asking for anything that belongs to another, but he is demanding rights that are his under the constitution of the American government.

Third, as to the assertion that the white people of the state would object to their taxes, paid for the education of the Negro, being used for such a purpose, viz., "the advertisement in such a publication," we



would say that the money which is annually appropriated for the support of the A. and T. college does not come entirely out of the pockets of the taxpayers of the state, but that the federal government grants \$16,500 of the \$32,500 which the school now gets for its maintenance.

However, if there is any white taxpayer who begrudges or complains of that \$16,000 which the state legislature votes as its quota for the successful running of the A. and T. college, or for that matter money for any other school, viz., the common and normal schools, for the making of a more intelligent and industrious and consequently a better and more valuable citizenry of the Negro youth, I hope he will put his hand on his conscience and reflect what the Hon. James Y. Joyner, our former able and broad-minded state superintendent, has to say in the following paragraph, to be found on page 62 of his biennial report, 1915-1916, to the state legislature:

"It is estimated that the Negroes paid for schools in taxes on their own property and poll, not including corporations, about \$216,094.84 or less than one-half of all that they received for school purposes. Add to this their just share of fines, forfeitures and penalties and their share of the large school tax paid by corporations to which they are entitled under the constitution by every dictate of reason and justice and it will be apparent that the part of the taxes actually paid by individual white men for the education of the Negro is so small that the man that would begrudge it or complain about it ought to be ashamed of himself. In the face of these facts any unprejudiced man must see that we are in no danger of giving the Negroes more than they are entitled to by every dictate of justice, right, wisdom, humanity and Christianity." Chas. H. Moore.

# Democracy and the Negro

## Dr. Seligmann Believes That the First Problem Is Changing the Attitude of the Whites

JUNE 26, 1920

By Oswald Garrison Villard

"The Negro Faces America." By Herbert J. Seligmann. Harper & Bros.

DR. SELIGMANN has made a remarkable contribution to the negro problem in America. He has written quietly, earnestly, yet in so scientific a spirit as to control the deep emotions he feels, and must have learned to feel, by personal experiences in the dangerous business of seeking information at first hand in excited and lawless communities. His book brings the eternal negro "question" up to date, since it deals with the latest race riots in which civilized America has indulged and records accurately the results of the participation of black troops in our war for the safeguarding of that democracy which is denied them under the Stars and Stripes. What a mockery it all was! Our negroes were drafted without their consent, or the consent of their duly elected representatives—since only a small percentage vote for Congressmen. They were warmly welcomed in France by French men and women alike—only to have a wave of indignation and bitterness sweep over the American South when this fact became known. They returned to America—to learn that their courage was doubted because of the failure of a single regiment; to hear from the South that its repression would be all the greater because they had associated abroad with white women, and to obtain from the North not even a single promise of a redress of their political wrongs. By this time at least five of these black men in khaki—some says nine—have already been lynched, all in the name of democracy and humanity and the safeguarding of the world from such monstrous wrongdoers as the Huns!

To Dr. Seligmann belongs the credit of emphasizing the fact, which few other writers have stressed, that the negro is to-day, as prior to abolition, an economic problem. The Civil War set him only nominally free. He remained in economic serfdom, particularly upon the plantations of the South, where he is incredibly exploited, where every bit of the social and political structure is utilized to keep him in peonage. Let him be content to be a laborer and to limit his educational claims to instruction in the trades and he is welcome. Let him aspire to the higher things and he becomes a menace. The Southern white woman's safety is again endangered, the social equality bugaboo is again raised and he is lucky if there are not some lynchings to teach him his place. There would be no complaint from the South if every one of its black servant girls were

efficient and every one of its black laborers content to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But the South complains that they are all grossly inefficient, lazy and ready to labor only irregularly, and then denies them every one of the incentives to regular labor, every possible fulfillment of those ambitions which every other human being is urged to cherish to the glory of society and the State.

So it is gradually dawning upon students of the color problem that, after all, it is but another phase of economic exploitation, especially severe and intense because of the physical and geographical conditions in the South and the rule of violence there. There is a monstrous conspiracy of all the ruling elements there to keep the South in possession of its great supply of pliant, ignorant and cheap black labor. The most terrible outbreak of white savagery that has yet occurred there—the occurrences in Phillips County, Arkansas, duly heralded in the press as a negro insurrection—was due solely to the fact that the negroes shot or arrested were agitating for economic rights no one would have dared to deprive them of elsewhere. Further proof of the economic character of the struggle was brought out when the negro migration from the South set in during the war. As the number of fleeing negroes rose into the hundreds of thousands a wave of repentance swept over the South. The planters promised to build schoolhouses if only their hands would stay. For the first time since Emancipation, in Louisiana and Mississippi the land barons promised to give their black tenants statements in writing of their business transactions which up to that time had rested only on the verbal statements of the landlords. Some newspapers even proposed that the negroes should be given a little voting—not enough to do any harm but still a little, and newspapers like the *Atlanta Constitution*, discovering that the emigration went on in every county in which there was lynching, made vigorous demands for the discontinuance of this amiable practice—lest it affect the purse of the planter even more seriously.

So one is inevitably drawn to the conclusion that the negro's freedom is inextricably involved in the solution of the whole economic problem. Dr. Seligmann's clear statement of the problem leads nowhere else; even his chapter on the key question—that of the sexual relationship of the races—leads where though it might have been strengthened by pointing out the connection between the slave-woman's inability to own and control her virtue and the present exploitation of her descend-

ants' bodies by the dominant race. A large group of young colored people are beginning to realize these economic truths and have a brilliant mouthpiece in the *Messenger*, one of the new organs of opinion of their race, which the Department of Justice has recently denounced with its characteristic stupidity as an organ of the "reds." The *Messenger* has no use for any of the negro leaders who do not interpret social forces in terms economic. They are regrettably favorable to the I. W. W., but are certainly on the right track when they declare that the one hope for their race is their organizing to utilize to the full their economic power. The action of the American Federation of Labor in admitting negroes to membership last year was a belated recognition of their latent economic possibilities and of the necessity for all workingmen to pull together regardless of any color line. But when they do the South will counter by killing their leaders and seeking to keep the masses in even greater ignorance so that they may be forever wanting in class solidarity. The future is darkly clouded.

Dr. Seligmann believes that the first problem is changing the attitude of the whites. His words are well worth quoting because they include his specific proposals for the solution of much of the problem:

The chief problem of race relations in the United States is the education of white people to decency in their attitude toward colored citizens. The nation will never be made whole in its own conscience while overt lawlessness stalks in the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Hypocrisy must be of the very essence of American public life while the word democracy and disfranchisement of negroes, ideals of liberty and oppression of colored people under the guise of denying them "social equality," are juxtaposed; while white men take their freedom with colored women and torture with bestial cruelty any colored man who has committed the crime of attracting a white woman's regard. The first step in an approach to the problems of race relations will be a demand upon the part of United States citizens for information, exact information, not only of the anthropologist, but with regard to the treatment of colored men and women by white men and women in the United States. When those facts are made known, as some effort has been made to suggest them in this survey, American public opinion will demand a change amounting to revolution.

But, after all, it rests with the colored people to free themselves and in these times the way to freedom lies through economic organization; there is no hope for the negro in the political remedy. Of course, if the Government in Washington had plain common sense it would set itself to remedying the negro's wrongs. It does nothing of the kind and then, when the nine or ten millions of him are rendered the very best material for the radical agitator, it wants to suppress his *Messenger*, his *Crisis* and his other organs of thought. If Mitchell Palmer could be compelled to read Dr. Seligmann's book he and the country would profit greatly. As

that is impossible, the reviewer must at least add his deliberate opinion that this volume ought to be in every library and in the hands of every enlightened person North or South for the facts it contains.



## Race Problem - 1920

### Moving Pictures.

#### DIXON'S "ROBERT E. LEE."

The lack of a general and sustained interest in the production in Montgomery of Thomas Dixon's drama "Robert E. Lee," illustrating the principles and convictions of the great Southern hero, indicates that perhaps the drama was produced either too soon or too late.

Mr. Dixon's play, more a pageant than a drama, by no means received a frost in Montgomery; it was, on the contrary, fairly well patronized, but there was not about it that enthusiasm with which the Southern people are accustomed to greeting the public presentation of the great personalities of the Confederacy. It is possible that a Southern drama by a Southern author on the chief of the Lost Cause was too late, in that the greater majority of the veterans of the Confederacy who were so intensely loyal to all that pertained to the Confederacy, and so zealous in their veneration of General Lee, have passed over the river to join those young comrades of fifty years ago who fell on the Virginia battlefields. It was too early, perhaps, because the great figure of Lee, now almost legendary, notwithstanding the fame and the glory which clusters about his name, has not yet been properly placed in history. We know that he will rank among the great captains of all the ages, and that his fame is wider as the years pass. It is nothing to the discredit of Mr. Dixon's forceful and well written pageant, that it failed to ring the bell of public enthusiasm.

It was gratifying to those who witnessed the drama, which began at Arlington and ended at Appomattox, to see that the author had managed to preserve so well the atmosphere of the Old South, and to suggest vividly, the cavalier spirit, the lively and romantic character of the Southern soldier, contrasted with the intensity of his emotions, in facing those great crises produced by the separation of the two sections and the terrible struggle which closed but did not for many years completely heal, the separation.

Mr. Dixon was more dramatic in his "The Clansman," from which "The Birth of a Nation" was taken, than he was in showing the serene, yet not untroubled, passage of Lee, through certain great passages in his own life and in the life of the South. Based upon the conception that the drama should present not only the peak event in the career of General Lee, but that in showing the motives that moved Lee moved, too, the Southern States, it was necessary that the stage version of history should run more to talk than to action. It is well, however, that a new generation

should have repeated to it the old truths, upon which the States of the South based their action—truths that were respected and even upheld, this side of disunion, by

even such a man as Abraham Lincoln. It is the penalty visited upon a people who lose in any war that among their losses is the right or means to conduct any sort of a propaganda for their cause—that as a result of their defeat, their motives are misconstrued and their own conduct misrepresented.

Not the least of the achievements of the Confederacy,—through its soldiers and leaders—is the winning of the continued love and veneration of the people of the South. No defeated army was ever so honored as has been the Confederate army. We can search history in vain for any parallel of the honor paid a defeated army, for the affection and veneration given the Confederate army, which failed of victory. To a degree that we could not well analyze, that affection and veneration has symbolized the name and fame of Robert Edward Lee—as that of a leader of constitutional government and the love of the institutions of the South, which animate the Confederate soldier.

It is a rather interesting reflection to realize that of the two great figures on the Union side, President Abraham Lincoln and General Ulysses S. Grant, it is the civil leader, Abraham Lincoln, who is loved and honored, not the military leader, while the South pours out its greatest affection, not to the civil leader, President Davis, but to the soldier, without reproach, General Lee.

This generation, we suspect, needs the lessons conveyed by the drama of Mr. Dixon; because of this very need for instruction we regret any lack of interest in a story which shows General Lee in making the mighty decisions of his life.

### NEGROES ASK COUNCIL PROHIBIT SHOWING OF "BIRTH OF A NATION"

BELOIT WIS NEWS  
JULY 20, 1920

Charging that the impression left by the play "The Birth of a Nation" is "un-American, un-civil and extremely humiliating to the colored people," a group of negroes representing the Beloit branch of the national association for the advancement of colored people, last night, appeared before the common council and petitioned that body to prohibit the showing of this play in this city at any time hereafter." The petition was signed by Dr. F. E. Norman, Rev. C. T. Parker, Harry

T. Shelby, J. S. A. Mitcham, W. Halyard and one other, all colored.

On motion of Alderman A. J. Mathison the petition was referred to the judiciary committee of the council to report back to the council as a whole at its next meeting.



Race Problem—U.S.—1920.  
Negro and the North

## Negro Problem Looms in West Central States Are Facing Serious Situation

Effect Is Especially Felt in Politics—Ohio Feels Influx  
Most

(Special Correspondence of The Evening Post.)

COLUMBUS, O., September 13.—Economic factors are bringing a new issue into the political equations of the Central West. It is a fact openly granted by one set of political leaders and secretly admitted by another that the negro race issue is coming to the front in Ohio and the other States of the Central West. In Kentucky, according to accounts reaching here, the negro issue is already practically obscuring all others, and the indication that it will do so in Ohio is by no means remote.

In recent years the movement of the blacks to the North has been steady and almost uninterrupted. The census figures are as yet incomplete but they show an increase of almost 100 per cent. among negro men and a very heavy one among negro women in Ohio, Kentucky, and Illinois.

Being an industrial State and having witnessed a great industrial expansion in the past four years, Ohio has added more to her colored population than any of the surrounding States. The negroes have been concentrated principally in the cities, where in many instances they have taken the place of the cheap labor formerly supplied by the Italian, Slav, and other European groups. There has been a movement of the aliens back to Europe since the close of the war and few have come from Europe into this part of the United States. The result has been that negroes have come to take their places.

### A Troublesome Factor

They also seem to have been attracted by the stories spreading through the South that in the Northern States they have full social and political equality. It is represented to them that in the North "a negro is as good as a white man." The result of these stories is that the negroes have been an increasingly troublesome factor in a general way, and this accounts for an undercurrent of resentment against them. This situation has its reflex in politics and the issue seems likely to become acute within a short time.

The negroes have spread into the white residence sections in all of the larger cities and districts that were

once white have been almost wholly surrendered to them. The economic feature again enters here, for the white people in hundreds of instances have been forced to sell their homesteads at a sacrifice because of the invasion. In still other quarters the public schools have been invaded to such an extent that many families have moved to the suburbs in order to avoid sending their children to a school with a large element of colored children.

With their increasing numbers the negroes have become far more insistent on their constitutional rights to full equality under the law. They have recently forced a concession under which they purchased sleeping car and chair car tickets on the railroads, greatly to the annoyance of the white travellers, and more especially women. The handling of this matter has been a delicate one for the railway officials and protests are constantly coming to them.

### Want More Advantages

Each advantage gained by the colored men has increased their desire for further ones, and they are planning to use the ballot as a lever to increase their power. In the four States of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Illinois they hold the balance of power as between the two political parties. They have made the greatest use of their power in Ohio. In the recent primaries here they demanded statements of candidates as to their positions, threatening those who did not openly pledge themselves with determined opposition.

The results of their course are seen in the recent nominations, in which candidates favored by them have almost invariably won out over their opponents, who would not make promises. The negroes lined up almost solidly behind former Mayor Harry L. Davis of Cleveland, and he was nominated for Governor by the Republicans, although he is a pronounced liberal, and the party in Ohio has been pledged to prohibition.

Ignoring the prohibition issue, they also lined up behind former Gov. Frank B. Willis and he was nominated for United States Senator. Willis was especially favored because he prevented the presentation in Ohio, while Governor, of the film "The Birth of a Nation," which portrays the negro in an unfavorable way during the reconstruction days in the South.

In the local primaries throughout the State the negroes displayed their power by nominating six candidates for the lower house of the General Assembly of Ohio. The number of colored men nominated is absolutely without precedent. There are three in Cleveland, two in Columbus, and one in Cincinnati, and the colored men have served notice on the political leaders that if their candidates are sacrificed in any way they will retaliate against the rest of the ticket. This situation has been given that there is to be no discrimination against them in the Republican party.

### Democrats Are Active

On the other hand, special appeals have been made to the negroes to off-

set the loss of other industrial workers who, in general, are unfavorable to the Republican nominee for President. The favorite position given to the negroes is not a live issue with the men voters, accustomed as they are to the ways of practical politics. But it is different with the women. The Democrats have taken advantage of the situation and are industriously circulating, both by the printed word and by the spoken word, anti-negro propaganda in Ohio. This fact is making the race question far more acute than it has been in the history of the State. Shrewd observers see the race issue at no distant date the dominating one in Ohio. They point out that there is a background in history for this development.

### Issue Is Revived

For a few years the race issue again disappeared from politics, but in 1916 it again began to be mentioned. In that year there began the invasion of the North by the colored people. This invasion continued to grow and trouble on several occasions has been narrowly averted. Charges have been made by Democratic leaders in Ohio, and vigorously denied by the Republican leaders, that negroes have been colonized in Ohio and other Northern doubtful States.

So far as Ohio is concerned the negroes hope for the creation of a colored bloc in the Legislature. Two years ago they demanded of the Republican majority the fulfillment through legislation of a platform pledge to give full civil and social rights. They put forth their idea in the Beatty bill, but it was defeated. For a time there were threats of disruption in the colored vote, but the difficulty was met by new promises. Through the new bloc the colored people hope next winter to force action.

That they are keeping a close watch on the situation is shown by the fact that in the Presidential primaries last spring they opposed Senator Harding because as leader of the party in Ohio he did nothing to help the Beatty bill. The result of their attitude was that Senator Harding did not carry a single negro voting district in Ohio, and there are still a few colored men who say they will not vote for him in the November election.

In seeking to eliminate the trouble among the colored people the Republican leaders are facing some embarrassment, and this is particularly true since equal suffrage became a factor. It is one of the reasons why the Republican leaders in Ohio secretly hoped that the equal suffrage amendment would not be ratified. In instructing the women voters it is necessary to hold many meetings of women, and difficulties are encountered when the colored women appear and insist upon full equality with whites. The most of this situation has been made by the Democrats.

### More Men Than Women

It has also been used by them as an argument for getting out the women voters in all of the States in which the colored people are numer-

ous. It is the Democratic claim that there are 90,000 negro men in Ohio, and that the colored women will add to this initial advantage for the Republican candidates. The only "silver lining" they see to the cloud is the fact that the recent migration from the South has been largely of men and that there are more colored men in Ohio than women. This they say is particularly true in the construction camps, where there are at least twenty negro men to every negro woman.

The claim is made that the presentation of the situation has made a profound impression among the new voters. This is admitted by the Republican leaders, who say that it is one of the worst situations they have to meet. The Democrats tell the white women of all parties that unless they vote the negroes, who are certain to be brought out by the Republicans, will express the sentiments of Northern womanhood, and they ask pointed questions as to whether or not they wish this condition of affairs to exist. It is an issue easily understood and capable of great weight in the campaign. The Democratic leaders say that it is one of the biggest reasons for the advantage they claim they hold with the women voters, while the Republicans say that while it is not now acute, it may become so.

If there should be an economic depression or a few severe winters it is likely that the colored tide will recede and the negroes will be glad enough to return to the sunny South. Economic observers see possibilities of trouble in the event of hard times for they fear that the colored man would underbid the white man in the labor market and force a crisis. Certain it is that there are large possibilities in the tidal wave from the South.

## PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC LEDGER DECEMBER 5, 1920 EDUCATIONAL PLATFORM OF PENNA. NEGRO

Plea for a Conference in Which  
Spokesmen for the Negro Race  
Shall Have a Hearing

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—I hope you can make room in your columns for the following statement, from a letter to the state superintendent of public instruction, embodying what I should have said to the Second Educational Congress at Harrisburg this month had a hearing been granted:

First. No one person, Negro or white, is at present authorized or even qualified to speak the desires and opinions along educational lines of all of the Negroes of Pennsylvania, because (a) no conference nor congress has been called especially to ascertain such opinions, and (b) because diverging shades of opinion exist among Negroes on this matter as among all other people on important questions.

Second. That, notwithstanding the above,

it seems safe to say that the majority of Negroes of Pennsylvania are united as to the following beliefs:

(a) That the migration of thousands of rural Negroes into Pennsylvania may inspire hostile and prejudicial sentiment which, if unchecked, may develop into reactionary, hasty, ill-judged action.

(b) That evidences of this hostility are appearing in many places, in spite of Pennsylvania's traditional justice and fairness of treatment of the Negro.

(c) That Pennsylvania is reaping only a small fraction of the benefit that could be derived from the advent of these thousands if opportunities for industrial and agricultural education, adjustment and placement were provided for those above compulsory school age, in a form available to and assimilable by persons unschooled but with a rich, practical experience.

(d) That the continued welfare of our democratic commonwealth demands that the children of elementary and high school age of all races and classes and creeds be brought into contact under sympathetic and skillful guidance in the public schools, and thus taught mutual good-will and patriotism.

(e) That the future teachers of the children of our citizens will be best qualified to carry out the above function if they receive their training in the same training schools in daily contact with one another and drinking inspiration from the same carefully-chosen molders of the educational future.

(f) That successful administering of educational advantages (the realization of educational policies) to the Negroes of Pennsylvania can be accomplished only when Negro representatives are called into consultation on all educational discussion and given partial responsibility for decisions of educational policy and for the carrying of such decisions into effect, and when, therefore, such discussions and decisions plow deep into the subsoil of Negro life and character.

(g) That the topic of your congress of last week, namely, "Pennsylvania's Educational Rating and the Reasons Therefor," under the three subheads, "Financial Support," "Secondary-School Facilities" and "Compulsory Attendance Enforcement," instead of being irrelevant to the question in our minds, is of vital connection with our ideas. Increased financial support must be voted out of the fruits of the labor of the willing Negro voters as well as out of the fruits of the toil of the willing white voters. Our interest in secondary-school matters will be seen to be keen, in the fact that Philadelphia has only about 300 Negro children in high schools and graduates about thirty per year, while Washington, D. C. (with about equal Negro population), has about 2000 Negro high school pupils and graduates about 250 per year. And we have reason for anxiety lest the comparatively poor attendance of Negro children in Philadelphia be due to greater laxity in the enforcement of the law in reference to the Philadelphia Negro child.

The low educational rating of all states below the Mason and Dixon line is not due to the presence of Negroes in large numbers in these states, but to the unstatesmanlike, unwise, hostile and repressive educational policy of those states toward their Negro citizens. It is our earnest desire that the great abolition state of Pennsylvania, that has always stood side by side with Massachusetts and other northern states, shall stand the crucial test caused by the migration of these thousands and hundreds of thousands of Negroes, now here and on the way. It would be a tragic calamity if the educational authorities of Pennsylvania could discover in this crisis only such action as would take the form of any encouragement to racial barriers in training schools, colleges, high schools or elementary schools.



All of which leads me again to the suggestion that keeping in touch with the Negroes of Pennsylvania through properly accredited representatives, opening educational discussions to them and laying on their shoulders a part of the responsibility for educational policies, state-wide or local, preferably by representation on state and local boards of education and state and local boards of superintendents, will be both wise and mutually helpful to us all.

DANIEL A. BROOKS.

Philadelphia, November 28, 1920.

## CASTEEL SALTY IN ANSWERING NEGROES

Tells New York Association  
Writers Advocating Miscegenation Due No Sympathy

That editorials in negro papers advocating social equality of races and miscegenation is not approved of by Lt. Gov. Casteel, by leading negroes and Mississippians generally was divulged last night when the copy of a telegram to the governor from the National Association for the protection of Colored people and Governor Casteel's salty answer were made public.

During the day the governor received the following telegram:

"We are advised that lawyer employed by colored people went to Tchula, Miss., April 15, to provide bond for appealing case of Rev. E. R. Franklin, negro minister, sentenced to six months and fined four hundred dollars for selling Crisis published by National Association for Advancement of Colored People. That lawyer was intimidated by mob of two hundred men and threatened violence if he dared represent Franklin. That justice of the peace declined bond although it had been properly certified by sheriff and was thereby made valid under the law. That justice told lawyer Franklin would be lynched if released; that his only salvation was to work out sentence on county farm. Association appeals and asks that you advise us whether you will guarantee protection to lawyer to appeal case to higher court. Would appreciate wire at our expense.

The telegram was signed by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Seventy, Fifth Avenue New York.

To this Lieutenant Governor H. H. Casteel, acting Governor, replied as follows.

### Casteel's Reply

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York.

Rev. E. R. Franklin given five months sentence on county farm

and a fine of four hundred dollars for distributing copies of Crisis in the pages of which was advocacy of social equality and intermarriage between races. The mildness of his sentence was because of his ignorance. If we could get the editors of this sheet, we would make examples of them that would be a lasting benefit to the colored people of the South and that would not soon be forgotten.

### Truth of the Matter

L. M. Burch, of Jackson was the lawyer referred to in the telegram to the governor and that gentleman when asked about the matter stated that there was no mob met him at Tchula, that on the contrary, he was courteously received and treated but that the release of the prisoner on bail was denied on the ground that the sureties on the bond were not residents of Holmes county. Mr. Burch stated that Franklin plead guilty in the magistrates court to the dissemination of the Crisis and that the court held that the editorial in question did advocate miscegenation.

He stated further that he was not employed to defend Franklin, but to make his bond and report on his case to some of the leading negroes of the city and that when he advised them that Franklin had plead guilty to the charges against him and had distributed a large number of copies of the Crisis containing copies of the "miscegenation [intermarriage]" article, the negroes declined to have anything further to do with the case they disapproved the Crisis also.

## NEGROES DEMAND EQUAL RIGHTS WITH WHITES

SYRACUSE N.Y. HERALD  
MARCH 16, 1920

Seek Recognition in Hotels,  
Restaurants and Places of  
Public Entertainment.

William Monroe Trotter, secretary of the Equal Rights league, has gone to Utica for a series of meetings. He spoke twice in this city, each time to negro audiences.

Mr. Trotter is a negro. He is also editor of the Guardian, published in Boston in the interests of his race. The league which he represents seeks to secure to the negro to the same political and economic rights that are held by white men and women.

"We find," said he, "that there is a growing disposition in certain parts of the North, at least, to distinguish between blacks and whites in the matter of hotel accommodation, restaurant service, moving picture attendance, etc. This is the same distinction which has led to the 'Jim Crow' car and kindred evils in the South."

Mr. Trotter represented the negro race at the Peace conference in Paris, but was obliged to disguise himself as a scullery cook in order to reach Europe, as passports were denied.

## MONROE LA STAR MAY 13, 1920 OUR RURAL POPULATION.

Ten years ago our urban population—those living in the cities and large towns—passed the rural population in point of numbers for the first time in the history of America, the two elements thus standing as follows: Urban, 53.7 per cent; and rural, 46.3 per cent. Previous to that count the country folk were in a good majority, and were consequently able to procure all we wanted in food and similar articles and make up a good total for export, to assure us of a most encouraging balance of trade in our favor. Forty years ago the rural population stood 70 per cent to 30 per cent living in the towns. We have, of course, no definite figures as yet on this point—between city and country today—but such figures and estimates as we have on hand indicate that the new census will show 60 per cent of our population centered in the cities and only 40 per cent in the rural districts, with possibly an actual loss in the country districts, such has been the exodus to the towns.

That the drift is an evil has long been recognized and various plans have been suggested to meet and overcome it. It has reduced the production of the country and has tended to advance prices excessively in many lines. It has seriously demoralized many from the country not accustomed to city ways. Take the thousands of negroes drawn from the South to the slums of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Pittsburg. No one who has been to the congested negro section on the South Side of Chicago and has seen the conditions that prevail there but must realize the evil that has been done.

The movement to the city is heavier than ever, and the past ten years, with the war and the impetus it has given to many lines of manufactures, will tend to relatively reduce the food production in spite of our greater use of machinery on the farm. It has been hoped that the decrease in the number of farm laborers noted, which is tending to advance wages, will have the effect of checking the drift from the rural districts; but so far it has not produced any such result. Nor has the movement to improve life in the country by better roads and rural free delivery, so as to extend to the residents in rural districts the conveniences formerly restricted to the towns. It seems probable that the change will not come about to any marked extent until we begin to feel still more unpleasantly the bad effect of taking so large a proportion of the population from the farms, thus bringing about the demoralized condition that resulted

from these same causes during the later days of the Roman Empire and thus helped to bring about the decay and wreck of that empire. In the meanwhile we should still sound the American cry of a few decades ago, "Back to the Farm."—Times-Picayune.

## NEW BRITAIN CONN HERALD DECEMBER 9, 1920 RACE DISTINCTION.

It is unfortunate that there should have arisen at this time a discussion of an order, in a New Jersey city, that all colored people must be indoors by nine p. m. It is said that the order, whatever it was or however worded, was rescinded almost immediately. Nevertheless leading citizens of the colored race have demanded the resignation of the official who is alleged to have issued such an order.

In the race riots in Washington last winter it was shown that the colored people were not altogether to blame. Idle ex-service men, fresh from their triumphs overseas, were a bit thoughtless if not worse, and the combination of that thoughtlessness with the racial impetuosity of the colored people brought the riots about.

There were many crimes in Washington at that time attributed to colored people. Since then one negro has confessed that he committed most of them. No race ought to be held responsible for one culprit in it.

There can be no question of the unfairness of any order requiring members of a certain race to do something which limits their liberty unless it appears plainly that the crimes are committed and planned by that race alone. White men commit more crimes than negroes—there are more white men in the country. An order restricting the liberty of white men would be ridiculed.

While believing that all men, white and black, are treated with fairness by the officials of the towns and cities of the United States, and while holding no brief for the colored man, one must protest against this manner of preventing crime and urge other means of keeping the peace.

WHITE MAGAZINE SCRIBE  
TAKES BROAD VIEW  
The Cleveland  
W. D. Heydecker, editor of "The American City," a magazine published by white men in New York, devoted to municipal and county improvements and community leadership, has written A. R. Gillespie, erstwhile secretary of the so-called Cleveland Negro Chamber of Commerce, founded by Prof. Williams, that he is not in sympathy with such a separate organiza-

tion. Editor Heydecker, in his letter, stated the following:

"Generally speaking, I think it may be stated that the old type chamber of commerce which fostered a class consciousness is giving place to the new type chamber of commerce which endeavors to bring all groups in the community together for common service, regardless of their color or previous national allegiance. For this reason, the organization of racial groups does not appeal to us."

## CHICAGO TRIBUNE JUNE 19, 1920 OUR RACE PROBLEM.

Chicago, June 10.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Your editorial on the 8th inst, "The Tail Wags the Dog," is worthy of more than passing notice. While gaining its principal interest from its political bearing—as it was no doubt intended to—it calls the attention of all men to our complicated and ever growing race problem.

I feel it to be a very encouraging sign of the awakening of public concern about our relations with the black race when a paper like THE TRIBUNE begins to speak plainly and strike a light from the shoulder at the heart of the situation.

While I cannot at all times entirely agree with the views of THE TRIBUNE, the man who does not realize that its policy is directed by sane, clear-reasoning men who are not afraid to speak the truth as they are given to understand it is either a hopeless fool, Hearst deceiver, or a doddering imbecile.

I sometimes find fault with THE TRIBUNE, but in the main, on all questions of public policy, I find myself agreeing very closely with its views.

Believing that the best remedy for public ills or public dangers is a free and intelligent discussion of remedies and safeguards followed by forceful action, I feel that your editorial is a very timely one touching on a most important topic.

The race question is a big and vital affair and should engross far more of our thought and effort than our "duties" to Armenia and the innumerable other countries of like ilk. J. M. HILL.

MARY W. OVINGTON  
IS NOW 'ON THE JOB'

Mar. 30.—Mary  
the atten-  
York Her-  
of evi-  
ri.

one Hugh S. Marth  
Ovington.



# HOW LONG WILL NEW YORKERS ALLOW THE SOUTHERNER JOSEPH JOHNSON TO ENFORCE HIS PET IDEA?

**Our Boys Were Good Enough to Serve in the Mud Soaked  
Trenches of France, but Not Good Enough to Get  
a Square Deal From Negrophobe Commission**

The burning question among red-blooded men is: When is the renegade boxing commission going to sanction matches with this State between colored and white principals? But to my mind the right question to ask these worthies would be: Why do you threaten to rescind the franchise of any club that treats its patrons with a mixed exhibition, and has Senator Walker provided any such clause in his bill? When the bill made famous by Senator Walker was introduced, adopted and later the sport became legal in the State, colored people the country over welcomed it as an agency for the adjustment of all past grievances.

But, to the contrary, it has acted as a boomerang and today while we have at least ten fighters who would rate highly among the world's best fifty, these men are denied the right to earn a living in their chosen profession—while scores of white third-raters are commanding fabulous purses. In our immediate vicinity we have three clubs: The Commonwealth, the Star, and Pioneer. Of the three clubs only the Commonwealth has made a half-hearted effort to put colored boxers on their cards against each other. Every time a colored performer starts against a boxer of his race, some leading sport authority and Negro hater like Bat Masterson immediately warns the public against a frame-up.

A real fighting man (as nine-tenths of our fighters are) has no scruples about fighting anyone, regardless of color. There is this argument to offer, however. There are about 800 first-class boxers in this country, and of this lot one-sixteenth are colored. If they were continually pitted against each other they would have to play every small and large city in the United States in order to eke out an existence. While, on the other hand, if promoters would feature them on their bills against the hundreds of white pugilists, they would be richer for it, and the race would have a greater array of champions.

Some time ago I published an article stating that the Commonwealth management was willing to go down to the commission and make a fight for mixed bouts. They are slow in taking up the issue and now it is up to the community.

I want every reader of this page who believes in fair play to either write me a letter or make a personal call at my office, No. 409 Lenox Avenue, any day, between 4 and 6 o'clock, so that a committee can be formed to call on the commission. I ask every newspaper man in Harlem to co-operate with me in this, for it is our fight, not mine. We had our heroes—Johnson and Roberts—over there; also the Fighting Fifteenth. There, too, we had our enemies—General Ballou. We have our heroes over here in the roped arena—Wills, Norfolk, Gans, Jamaica Kid, Pinky Lewis, Langford, McVea, Thompson. We also have our enemies—Joseph Johnson, the Georgian, and his noble committee. If the bill isn't going to work both ways, why not ask Governor-Elect Miller to repeal it?

**Teacher Defies  
Senator Smoot**  
—20—20.  
**Authorities Fail to Bluff Ag-  
itator—Resent Autocratic  
Procedure.**  
*Afro America*

Washington D. C. January 28th—Senator Reed Smoot, of Utah, who demanded on the floor of the senate that Howard University remove a book on Bolshevism from its library, and force the colored community center to cancel a lecture at the Dunbar High School by Messrs. Chandler Owen and Phillip Randolph, the scholarly editors of the Messenger, at which Neval H. Thomas was to preside, asked that the school board remove Mr. Thomas from his position because he aided in getting up the meeting, and after the school was closed to them aided in securing a large auditorium and declared his intention to preside and "speak his piece."

The colored community turned out to administer a severe rebuke to Czarism. The large auditorium was over-crowded. People came with money to bail the participants on the program, as it was announced that the department of justice would have its men there. Mr. Thomas hurled defiance at the threat of the senator and the department of justice for its injustice, so their agents could have sufficient messages to carry back. In his opening remarks Mr. Thomas said, "If Senaor Reed Smoot could read he could see the hand writing in the wall which spells the doom of autocracy he seeks to uphold. He would know that persecution only brings converts to the cause it seeks to crush, and that closing schools to truth and libraries to books cannot destroy the hatred of oppression that burns in the human heart. If the Negro scoundrel who reported me for my part in this great meeting, thinking it would alter my course, is here tonight, go back to your white master tomorrow and give him my compliments. There was a perfect storm of applause which prevented him from speaking for sometime. He told his hearers, including the agents of the Department of justice that the said department had better be trying to enforce the 13th, 1st, and 15th, amendments to the constitution which has sworn to do, and for which we Negroes are paying it, and that if Bolshevism were all that our capitalistic press says it is it could not be worse than the Hell we are suffering in this land of ours where democracy in nothing but rhetoric.

"Senator Smoot is on the civil service committee of the senate, yet no one has ever known him to be patriotic enough to defend our civil service from the color line there which is paralyzing its efficiency. He is one of the leaders of the party of Lincoln, Charles Sumner, and Frederick Douglas, yet the great principle of freedom upon which it was founded have escaped his notice. He is zealous, however, in suppressing our discontent about our grievous wrongs. The wrongs do not hurt him. Our groans do. Even the restaurant in the senate wing of the capital over which he has complete control has recently excluded the colored public from service there.

The colored people, and many whites, have declared to stand by Mr. Thomas in the fight. Mr. Thomas declares he will not withdraw one hair's breadth, as he would rather be a man outside the system than a slave within.

**BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE  
SEPTEMBER 4, 1920**

**BROOKLYN'S NEGRO PROBLEM.**

Something like 50,000 colored people are residents of Brooklyn, and a large number of them are part of the mass of immigration to the Northern from the Cotton States; men and women who have not found themselves in city surroundings; not criminals, not vicious; industrious, cheerful people, often de-

vout religionists. Whether lynching horrors and denial of civil rights drove them from the South, or high wages at the North lured them here, need not now be considered. They must live somewhere. They must find amusement and recreation somewhere. They must in some way be relocated when temporarily dislocated in industry. They mean to be self-dependent. Indeed, you rarely see a negro beggar. They do not seek to "invade white sections" or to mingle with whites at church services or at motion picture shows. They prefer to flock by themselves. It is for the meeting of the negro problem in Brooklyn that the Brooklyn Urban League is functioning, and that the Lincoln Settlement has been established. A letter printed in another column explains the plan and scope of these two organizations which are closely affiliated.

Our feeling is that this is a noble work for the whitest of white people to engage in. It has no spirit of patronizing about it. It does not wound the self-respect of any colored person. And particularly at the present time, when the housing situation is acutely menacing for everybody, the League and Settlement work is insistent and imperative. The relatively slight financial assistance needed should be forthcoming. "Inasmuch as lieth in you, live at peace with all men" is the common Scriptural motto which the negroes try to follow. To make it easier for them to do this is to render utterly impossible the sort of race disturbances that have disgraced Chicago and other cities. That motive alone would be a full justification for the movement in question.

**PHILADELPHIA LEDGER  
NOVEMBER 12, 1920**

**✓ HELPING THE NEGRO**

IT WAS a timely meeting that was held to consider the peril in present American inter-racial relations under the auspices of the Anti-Lynching Committee of the Friends' Yearly Meeting, Fifteenth and Race streets.

Wrongs may be righted one by one; what fundamentally matters is that proper social and industrial conditions, behind acts and thoughts, shall be created.

Lynching, for example, brands the community wherein it occurs as having a low tone of popular ethics, a debased public opinion. No country may rightly claim to be wholly civilized until a sense of fair-

play is a live and operative force in the settlement of disputes between race and race, between man and man.

The meeting the other night was that of friends of the Negro not content with the merely negative part of putting down lawlessness and keeping the peace by force of arms. Instead of force it wants to see installed the influence of humaneness and of justice. It considers and will further a rational scheme to secure legal aid, education, sanitary housing, recreation, a reasonable comfort in travel, a better economic condition and an open door of industrial opportunity for those who today are excluded from many of these advantages.

A country is not at peace and its people are not happy till racial frictions are allayed and racial bigotry is dispossessed; till every immigrant nationality has learned to live on terms of law and order with every other. Europe is distracted today by nations that have never learned to be neighborly; by all sorts of selfish and superfluous boundary disputes; by greed of gain and internecine foray.

Here in America, too, we have had the unedifying and humiliating spectacle of white people and the Negroes in certain areas failing to find the common denominator of their interdependence; and the results have been tragic. Certain brawling agitators have risen up to inflame sentiment and incite to controversy. Foolish books have been written and lamentable plays produced with a result that has been a blight upon both races. A race has come "up from slavery," setting to its credit a truly marvelous accomplishment in half a century, only to find certain doors and parts inexorably closed for no good reason. One cannot argue with blind prejudice, and the white man's ignorance of the black man's soul is worse than any black man's ignorance of books.

*Pittsburgh Press*  
Race problems are bad enough without exaggerating them. A quarrel between whites and blacks in Chicago, two killed, many wounded, showed Negroes burning an American flag. The public should remember that the flag was produced and burned by a rascally WHITE man seeking to mislead the Negroes. The policeman who dashed in to save the flag from the flames and who was shot, was a NEGRO policeman.

Negroes as a rule are, and mean to be, law-abiding. They make mistakes, so do the whites. They are called upon to bear severe provocation patiently.

White men should remember that colored men are here by no act or wish of their own. They were brought here as slaves by white criminals that kidnaped them from Africa. They are entitled to kindness and justice, JUSTICE first of all.



## The Negro Problem in the North

Has the north a negro problem also? A few days ago, The Journal reproduced from the Chicago Tribune an article calling attention to an incident in that city serving more than a passing notice. A country girl went to that city, according to The Tribune, and not knowing her way to a hotel, asked a colored policeman to direct her. He carried her to a room in dark town, and there kept her several days and so many negro men having been permitted to visit here, when found she was in a pitiable condition. Carried to a rescue home, she soon died. From The Tribune it is learned the only punishment received by the colored police officer was the loss of his position on the police force. There the matter is permitted apparently to rest, so far as the law officers are concerned.

There was no lynching bee as there might have been in the south, which is, of course, praiseworthy from the Chicago viewpoint, but what is really happening in Chicago as a result of the great influx of negro population during the world war, which has doubled the negro population of that city, and crimes not unlike the foregoing? According to Dr. George R. Hall, a member of the Chicago commission on race relations, appointed by Governor Owen, bombs are being thrown at negro's homes, and "every time something happens to a negro or a negro does something out of the way it is called a negro problem, but it is not a problem," he says, "when they throw bombs, it is anarchy, and when they speak of segregation of the races it is an insult."

"I have great hopes that good will will be established between the races in Chicago," said Mr. Hall, "but right now there exists in Chicago a situation which makes these hopes very doubtful for the present."

"The condition in Chicago today is wrought up to where we are standing over a riot, not of thugs such as the riot here last summer, but a real race riot. The fact is that the negroes in the so called 'black belt' are quietly arming themselves individually and establishing a zone of safety for themselves, as they have no confidence in the police of Chicago to protect them. Every now and then some negro's house is bombed, or the home of some white man who has sold a house to a negro is bombed."

But here is another story that comes out of Chicago, and it comes from a leading negro of that city who presents this ugly picture. When there is no politics concerned or the vote of the negro involved directly, there is something doing in the racial life of that city. The whites may be lax and indifferent as to the purity of their women, and refuse the innocent protection; but when the almighty dollar is involved, and the value of their property injured in a neighborhood by the occupancy of the negro, no matter how respectable he may be, then they forget the slogan, freedom and equality with the white race, and fair treatment "without discrimination because of race, color or previous condition of servitude." The story was carried to Boston, the hub of the universe, and the home of the bred and born abolition party, by Alexander Jackson, a leader of the colored race, who resides at the home of The Chicago Tribune, which is noted for its expressions of love for the chivalry and manhood of the south. Jackson declared in an address to a Boston audience assembled to "consider the problems of the negro race," that the race problem was fundamentally economic and the experience of the negro in moving north during the war had shown race prejudice to exist there as in the south." The negro population had doubled in Chicago in the last two years, he said, and the negroes were asked to pay rents 15 to 20 per cent higher than white persons.

"They say we depreciate property," he said, "and they charge us 20 per cent more rent to prove it." The problem of racial relationship he considered fully as grave as the labor problem; negroes who merely asked the same rights as white people were called "radicals," and talk arose about "I. W. W. propaganda." Race prejudice should end, and as a means toward ending it, young men and women of the white race should be informed that it is their duty and obligation to make the negro feel that the white people will treat him fairly."

The Journal would especially call the attention of the esteemed Tribune to this racial discrimination—a discrimination that is not even practiced in the south.

## THE WEEK'S WORST EDITORIAL

(From the Chicago Tribune, Nov. 8, 1920)

Mr. Edward Morris, the colored member of the constitutional convention, will do the race to which he belongs more good by withdrawing his provision concerning racial equality than by securing its adoption.

The race problem in Illinois is in its infancy. A long course of study and experimentation must take place before the races of different color settle down to a frictionless contact.

The problem comes from the large migration of colored people from southern states to the north, where they come into competition and contact with the resident white population. In the cities this contact is crowded and, in the present condition of home shortage, has proven exceedingly irritable, leading to numerous clashes and to terrible race riots. Lastly, by the mobilization of the newly arrived colored population into the ranks of one faction of the Republican party, this faction of the party became dominant, a dominance which was used by Senator Lewis as a campaign argument in the recent election, arousing a great deal of latent racial hostility.

The friction which has arisen since the migration of colored people from the south did not exist between the whites and the colored people who resided here formerly. We look hopefully toward the end of the present animosity, to the elimination of existing prejudices and social injustices. Such an end can only come with forbearance and conciliation. The demonstration of an aggressive spirit on the part of the new arrivals to force themselves upon the old population will arouse an active resentment which will result most detrimentally to them.

### Touching the Human

Side of Things.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

AUGUST 3, 1920

WHERE THE RACES MEET.

Approximately a year ago bloody race riots were in progress throughout the so called "black belt" of Chicago. Just a few evenings ago, on the site of one

of the most sanguinary of these local battles, an outdoor moving picture show was given at which white and colored people commingled. Here it was striking evidence of the manner in which friendly and neighborly influences may heal a breach that seems too wide for healing.

The outdoor movie show in question is one of the activities of the Colored Division of Community Service of Chicago, which has its headquarters at 3201 South Wabash avenue. That was the location of the canteen and club maintained during the war for colored soldiers and sailors by War Camp Community Service.

During the last few months the place has been used as a means of directing and influencing the colored folk of Chicago toward a wiser and more wholesome use of their leisure, thus applying to peace times the same principle that was applied to men in uniform while the war was raging.

These movie shows have proved an interesting diversion in that part of the city. They have been going on now for about a month at different locations in that district, with marked success. During the early hours of the evening the boys and girls engage in games, races and similar diversions. Then the people of the neighborhood bring out chairs from their homes and shops and prepare themselves for the entertainment. A screen is placed at a point of vantage. The proper electric connections are made wherever the current can be found. At the last of these entertainments this happened to be in a little frame candy shop.

There is no suggestion of formality about the proceedings and therefore there seemed to be no surprise or question in the minds of the people when a considerable group of German Lutherans presented themselves as spectators among the groups of negroes. These people live not far away and maintain a church. White people of other nationalities are also to be seen in these audiences.

These motion picture shows are, of course, only one small feature of the work that is being done by the Colored Division of Community Service. For example, during the period from Feb. 1 to

June 1 approximately 2,000 girls were organized into seventeen groups and they have had 300 meetings. A large number of neighborhood festivals have taken place on summer evenings. The general attractions of these are games, folk dancing and music. The division also engages in dramatics and pageantry work, community singing, public speaking classes, orchestra development, lectures, citizenship classes, story telling, social hygiene, negro history, the French and Spanish languages, sewing, cooking and training classes for social workers. They are developing, in marked fashion, a friendly, neighborly spirit among people of their own race and the white people who live near by.

Plans are now in the making for developing the co-operation of white and colored people through the medium of the playgrounds in that district, where both white and colored children play. It is certain that a continuation of these efforts will lead to a far better understanding between the people of these two races, so that the old specter of race riots may not again come to haunt Chicago.

NORMAN L. RITCHIE.

ROSCOE SIMMONS IN AKRON

That fool talk about "social equality," a myth; being "your white neighbor's friend" and having "patience," that the average Negro professional talker, out to please whites, indulges in is harmful to our people anywhere in the north. Both classes of the various communities in this section of the country are not familiar with it and our people as a rule have no idea how greatly it harms them with the leading whites of their community. A case in point is made clear in our Akron letter published elsewhere in this paper. Roscoe Conkling Simmons had hardly left that city, after making what was largely a "Booker T. Washington doctrine of surrender" speech or talk, before the school authorities marshaled the secretary of Akron's "jim crow" Y. M. C. A. and a few other members of the race in an organization that is intended to be used as a shield and "buffer" for color or race segregation in the public schools of that city, something wholly unnecessary and illegal. We warn our good people of Akron to be up and doing, or it will not be many days before they will have "jim crow" schools as well as a "jim crow" Y. M. C. A. The former invariably follow the latter anyhow.



Race Problem—1920—U.S.  
Negro and the South.

# Negro's Best Friend in South Is White Man, Says Mr. Taft; Sees Great Progress of Race

BROOKLYN N.Y. EAGLE  
NOVEMBER 19, 1920

Reviewing the progress made by the negro since his deliverance from the bonds of slavery through the Emancipation Proclamation, William Howard Taft, former President of the United States, addressed a gathering of fully 1,000 persons in the Music Hall of the Academy of Music last night, in an appeal for funds to aid the work of Hampton Institute. Mr. Taft is president of the board of trustees of the Institute. The meeting was held under the auspices of The Hampton Association of Brooklyn and in the audience there was a sprinkling of the negro race.

"The best friend that the negro can have in the South and the one whom he must have in order to continue in his progress as an economic and educational force is the white man," said Mr. Taft. During the course of his talk he made a veiled remark of how one of the political parties has recognized the potential power of the negro in the South and therefore has exerted every influence to prevent his exercising his power. He amused his audience when he recounted a personal experience not so long ago when he was seeking votes as a Presidential candidate, of how he said to a gathering of negroes before election, "I know just how you are going to vote and I also know that while you are voting you will be offering up your prayers that I am elected."

Mr. Taft's address covered all phases of the negro problem, pointing out how they were brought into the country at Labor's behest and how subsequently they threw off the shackles that bound them to the soil. "The day is coming when the negro will enjoy in this country the same equality with regard to morals, education and political strength as enjoyed by the white race," said he.

## Trowbridge Presides.

The meeting was presided over by Alexander B. Trowbridge, president of the Hampton Association of Brooklyn. He delivered an address in which he stated the object of the meeting, and made an appeal for funds. Upon the conclusion of Mr. Taft's address, a collection was taken up and a considerable sum was realized, and it will go to the endowment fund of the Institute. Four members of the Institute who came especially to Brooklyn for the meeting furnished the musical entertainment. They were Felix, Robert, Chauncey and Ralph Northern, brothers, known as "The Hampton Quartet" and they entertained with negro melodies.

Mr. Taft's address, in part, follows: "In 1866, there were perhaps 5,000,000 negroes in the United States, and between them they only owned 12,000 homes," said he. "In 1900, they owned 397,000 homes. In 1919, there were over 10,000,000 and they owned

many decades greatly retarded for both races, but the South has grown wealthier in the last 20 years, and we may hope for some improvement in this regard. The statistics show a woeful lack of a sense of justice to the negro in the distribution of the educational funds between the races. Northern philanthropy has done a good deal in this regard but it is not enough to equalize matters.

"The hope of the negro is in the friendship of the Southern whites, and there is a real and genuine interest in his improvement, educational and moral, among the people of the South, as is manifest by the activities of the Southern white people are engaged in to help him. But since emancipation and after the horror of reconstruction, however the negroes have not been accorded the same opportunities in the Southern States for education and development as the whites.

## Southern Politics.

"Ever since 1880, the so-called popular government in the South has rested on an illegal basis which is itself demoralizing to all concerned. The independence of the Southern white voter in national politics and in State politics has been restricted to the support of the Democratic party in a way detrimental both to the State Governments of the South and to national politics. The course of events has seriously retarded the preparation of the negro for citizenship and for improving the opportunity to lift himself toward an equality with the white man.

"The race riots in East St. Louis, Chicago, Omaha and other cities show that the race prejudice extends the country over. Now what do these race riots come from? They were in a certain degree economic in their origin. The presence of negroes to supply the demand of labor roused the antagonism of white labor, and with that as the seed it was easy for hostility to blossom into such disgraceful mob violence and conflict as that we have seen since the war. The enlistment and conscription of many negroes in our army and their going over seas, gave the negro soldiers a sense of organized physical power. They cherish a natural bitter resentment against being treated as equals in the face of danger, and then on their return as inferior. They have a right to expect and do expect not contempt and insult but gratitude for their service. Many of the negro press stirred this feeling titled to vote wherever he is a resident, but circumstances have made this impossible at present in the States of the South. It was a mistake to give to a mass of densely ignorant negroes the franchise, its extension ought to have been made to depend on education or property qualification. It was given with the high purpose of securing to the negro the means of protecting himself in his newly conferred civil rights. As he used it in the South it was an injury to him and to all concerned and its evil effects continue until today. The only relief from this situation which we can anticipate is a practical working out of a property and educational qualification through the self-elevation of the negro to such a place in the community as that public opinion in those States where he is now denied the franchise, will yield it to him.

## Political Rights of Negroes.

"With respect to political rights and preferment, the negro citizen is entitled to vote wherever he is a resident, but circumstances have made this impossible at present in the States of the South. It was a mistake to give to a mass of densely ignorant negroes the franchise, its extension ought to have been made to depend on education or property qualification. It was given with the high purpose of securing to the negro the means of protecting himself in his newly conferred civil rights. As he used it in the South it was an injury to him and to all concerned and its evil effects continue until today. The only relief from this situation which we can anticipate is a practical working out of a property and educational qualification through the self-elevation of the negro to such a place in the community as that public opinion in those States where he is now denied the franchise, will yield it to him.

"Passing from the social and political questions in respect to the negro, let us consider the other phases of his progress and prospects. He has not had an equality in the extension of his civil rights which he is entitled to have. Southern education was for

not to close the door of hope to the negro and thought this was the way to help.

## Appointments to Office.

"It developed, however, that the appointment of colored men to office in communities where the fear of the danger of social equality exists does not aid the negro but only stirs a feeling of antagonism to him even among the best class of the white people of the South and paralyzes the effort of such white people for his welfare and dulls their interest. I believe in appointing negroes to office for places for which they are qualified and that in proportion to the number of their fit applicants they should have an equal chance, but they should not be forced into public duty which they must exercise counter to a strong feeling. Such a feeling necessarily minimizes their usefulness to the Government and the public and, what is still worse, arouses in the whole community a bitterness of feeling against the race, which ought to be avoided.

"Selections for office are not to be determined on exact rules of distributive justice, but must be governed by the question whether the appointee in his administration is likely to render the most efficient service. Every administration has an opportunity to recognize the progress of negroes by appointing them to public office. I repeat again, it is of the highest importance to the negro that the friendship and kindly relation of the best white people in the South should be strengthened and made useful for the race, and therefore for the whole community, and nothing should be done which would imperil this friendship and interest.

"What the negroes have done in the last fifty or sixty years is an earnest of what they will do in the next fifty or sixty years. A race or a people or a nation does not progress by leaps and bounds. It progresses little by little until the gradual movement derives a permanency that ultimately works out the problem. The surest solution of our race problem is in the education of the negro so as to instill in him moral aspiration. It is teaching him by what he learns and does the appreciation and practice of a moral life, and in this progress the Hampton spirit is the essence of negro progress.

## Asks Aid for Hampton.

"In making an appeal for Hampton I need hardly recount her wonderful history. She was born of pressing necessity. Thousands of refugee negroes had gathered at Fortress Monroe, were dependent on the Government which had freed them, and helpless in their ignorance and childlike faith. Providence furnished a Moses to lead them out of the wilderness. Samuel C. Armstrong was one of the great men which his generation of great men produced. A graduate of Williams College, a student of Mark Hopkins, a veteran of many battles in the Civil War and a brilliant leader of men, he united with that spirit of boundless New England energy decision and clear-headedness of successful command. The central idea of his whole plan was the use of intelligently directed labor to train the minds and implant moral force in the plastic souls of these ignorant people. He developed the industrial and vocational curriculum of instruction as it had never been applied before. He said the home of the negro is in the country and in the South and that we must teach him to work effectively.

"There isn't the slightest fear that the spirit of Hampton will be abated if her friends throughout the country

add to their contributions enough to keep the head of the institution at home engaged in a close supervision of that which is being done in order to maintain its excellence.

"We have now an endowment, secured through the great beneficial efforts of Armstrong and Ogden and Booker Washington and Frissell and other white souls of this country, of about \$3,000,000, and we need \$2,000,000 more than this. This meeting tonight is called for the purpose of securing aid for the cause. I am personally interested in the raising of funds for any good purpose for my own alma mater and others; but I venture to think that there is no cause which is so universal in its demand upon the support of all American people as this one."

NEWPORT NEWS VA PRESS  
AUGUST 12, 1920

# INTER-RACIAL GROUP BACKS NEGRO SCHOOL

Newsome Reiterates Claim That  
Negroes Get Justice in  
Courts Here.

The Inter-racial committee has made plans for increasing its membership from the half dozen or more it now has to 100; it was announced last night by W. L. Duncan, and George T. Hardy, who are members of the committee. This action was taken at its last meeting. The committee meets next in the Industrial Y. M. C. A. on the first Monday night in September.

At the last meeting it was reported to the committee by S. S. Archibald, who is a member as well as a member of the school board that the school board had listened to the request of the committee to give the colored people a new high school. It was stated that the board might give them a high school separate and distinct from the John Marshall school as the colored people have requested all along. Mr. Hardy said last night that the inter-social committee were given to understand by the board that the new school was to have four rooms. It is proposed to remodel the school at Eighteenth street and use that for the new high school, and the John Marshall school for the grammar grade school.

At the meeting of the Inter-social committee J. Thomas Newsome, colored attorney of the city, was asked to speak on the question of "Does the Negro Get Justice in the Courts of Newport News." Newsome said emphatically that he did. He said that on the great majority of cases "absolute justice was administered to the negroes." He said that cases of miscarriage of justice were very few and that it was not because of any discrimination between whites and blacks; that the negroes received just as much justice as the whites. Newsome was emphatic in all his statements, and he cited cases to prove it.



# THE NEGRO AND THE SOUTH

Anselm J. Finch

2-29-20.

BRANDON, Miss., Feb. 29.—The greatest subject that faces the American people today is the negro and the South.

It is natural that slavery caused the negro to become acquainted with the South and the Southern white man. This being true the negro can only be satisfied where he has made his surroundings happy and comfortable for him and his family.

God for 250 years had him studying the ways of the south, and at the same time was preparing him for better service. This service was to be rendered where it was found, and if God planted him upon the soil of the south, and had the southern white man to deal with him in a way no one else could, it is useless for him or any other race with his standing to leave his foundation and enter into a subject too serious to be solved.

## Used as substitutes

As a result of the shortage of white laborers of the far north, the negroes were used only as substitutes and paid high prices for their labor, but on the return of their old employees the negro was disregarded, floors were closed before them, and they were sent into the streets moneyless, clothless and homeless.

His attention was soon to wander back home to the Sunny South, and kind neighbors, where color and labor is common.

It is left entirely with an individual whether or not he accepts the great opportunity that is waiting only for the touch of a skilled head and a willing hand. The average negro, regardless how critical the time and the situation might be, has never learned the real meaning of utilizing his small earnings. It is not altogether and only hard work of the man that leads an individual to success. Education of the hand is only a servant, but that of the head forces and directs it to be economical and wealthy.

## Success and Failing

Do not let us drift from our subject those of us who know and have of those of us who know and have studied the life of the negro, know after all the hard work we have performed so patiently and willingly still depending and trusting in the white man and our God, that we have made love and peace with all.

Our success and our failures must begin and be worked out in the south. We can only help or hinder, build up or tear down, and when we do do all that is required of us to do, our white friends will be glad to lend to us a helping hand, thereby making the weak among us strong. In this way we will be sent into the world as doctors, and teachers willing to conquer any and every obstacle that faces us.

Even in the world's greatest war the negro made a page in history that shall forever be indelible upon the minds of the American people. Do not let us besmirch our record, we must prove to all what has been done can be done. I must ask what part did the negro play, and what did he do for his country? I must say he did the same thing the white man did, just gave his life for the defense of his country. In his dying words did he say he was dying for the defense of his black mother and sisters many miles away? He only said I am dying for my country. The Negro's heart is broad and firm, only waiting for a command. Did he refuse to give his blood that a white man from the south might be saved? He only insisted that the last drop of his blood would be given for the less fortunate. What more can be said of any race? No

race could have done this with more ease and more comfort than the Negro did.

The Southern white man has learned as well as the negro, that one cannot harm unless the same be harmed, one of us cannot be up and the other one down. We must learn as we are now learning that we are to be patient with one another, and help each other in every way.

## White Men Will Help

The majority of us need foundations, but are not willing to sacrifice and economize enough to lay the real foundation of life. Right here in the south the Negro could erect a foundation that would forever be a monument to him and his prosperity. To day the white man of the south is willing as never before to help us to push our load upward and it is left entirely with us whether we have the load go upward or downward. The negro must largely work out his own salvation.

Those of us who have been here 40 or 50 years, and a few of us perhaps longer and have accomplished nothing, need not expect to go north and find great things, when behind these great things there is a hundred years of toil, and a man with a weak and unstable foundation need not expect to reap in a few months that which required hundreds of years to sow. Here in the South we have every opportunity a race or man could have, our neat and comfortable homes are sold at all prices, and a man with any ambition will desire to own one. Our homes are the foundations of our civilization, and if we do not lay this foundation we are to blame and not our neighbors.

## Need Self-Confidence

We must learn to do things as good and if any thing better than any one else. When we realize we can grow 25 bushels of corn per acre more than any one else, every one will come to us for advice, asking us to teach them that art of producing corn. When we shall have proven this to the public, our neighbors regardless of race or nationality, will be with us as one, and from this way they will be glad to help us, teaching us that which we don't know or understand. But how are we to do such things? We must actually decide for ourselves that corn will produce as much for the black man as it will for the white man. And when we have our work speak for itself, the world will smile from the simple confidence in ourselves, the opportunity will at once be gone, and no one can or should sympathize with us.

Those of us who have no other place to rescue must remain in the south where we must expect to solve the great and intricate problems that must be solved. By our being with the southern white man these many years we are now learning his ways and he is watching us, leading us, lest we go astray. I hope to see some day when the south is as a blossoming rose and in this period the negro shall have a flower, which must represent every obstacle he has conquered, and to me this flower shall be a hero.

## Mutual Helpfulness

If every white man of the south would speak all the good things about every negro of the south he could and every negro of the south would speak all the good things about every white man of the south he could, lynching would be less, suspicion would be no more, and then the two races could not help but dwell in love and kindness together.

So that the question can be settled,

and it is left entirely with the two races to settle it, and as soon as the negro learns thrift and economy, and pays the cost of his freedom it will appear in a neat and well-kept home And from the results of the last fifty years I now feel justified in saying that:

"The slave's chain and the master's alike are broken,

The one curse of the race held both in tether;

They are rising, all are rising,

The black and white together."

## Attitude of the South Toward The Negro Interestingly Told

By J. T. HEARN

Editor Constitution: It is not

always an easy task to com-

bat and agree false theories

that have been added in the

minds of people by constant repeti-

tion. The impression prevailing in

some sections of our country that

the negro is systematically and uni-

versally mistreated by citizens of

the southern states is one of the

prevailing errors that it is the pur-

pose of this article to disprove.

Chancellor Barrow, of the Uni-

versity of Georgia, referring to con-

ditions of the negro race in Georgia,

in a recent address, made this state-

ment: "People of other sections and

countries might deal with the negro

theoretically. Georgia has the ne-

gro, not a theory—45 per cent of

the population of the state belongs

to the negro race."

To prove that the relations be-

tween the white people of the south

and the negro population are hu-

mane, kind and generous, there are

presented in this article incidents

and examples showing the pleasant

relations between the two races.

These actual happenings show a con-

dition, not a theory. They are rec-

ords of every-day life found in lo-

cal newspapers without any attempt

at coloring or exaggeration.

As to protection of a negro crim-

inal against the attempt of a mob

to lynch him, this writer can give

personal experience. A negro was

caught and put into jail in Carroll

county charged with robbery and

murder. A mob went to the jail

and demanded that the negro be

given to them. The sheriff refused

and when the mob attempted to get

into the jail the sheriff and a posse

of citizens, who had been summoned

to protect the prisoner fired into the

mob, killing one man and wounding

others. This put an end to the mob.

The purpose of this article is to

show that while refusing to con-

cede to the negro the right that he

does not seek (the privilege of be-

ing regarded as an equal in social

and political life), the south is the

truest and best friend of the col-

ored man.

Congressman Dudley M. Hughes,

of Georgia, received in Washington

a telegram telling of the sudden

death of Lottie Goode, a colored

woman who had been in his family

for many years. When the family

went to Washington, Lottie, who

was then in bad health, asked if

she should die, would her young

mistress come to see her. "You

know I will," was the answer. Al-

though it was the Christmas season

and a white house reception and

other social functions were on hand,

Mr. Hughes traveled the thousand

miles between Washington and her

home in Georgia to redeem the

promise made the faithful colored

servant.

In Barnesville, Ga., there died Guil-

ford McLendon, a faithful old ne-

gro, of whom Mr. E. A. Pounds, a

prominent citizen of that section,

wrote: "From the time I first tod-

dled with infant feet across the floor

until the day of his death I knew

him and knowing him I learned to

appreciate and admire him. For 30

years he lived in our family and

through all these years that gra-

cious, kind spirit irradiated that

home and blessed every child of the

home."

At Mobile, Ala., Judge Samuel B.

Brown adjourned court out of re-

spect to Henry Kinney, janitor of

the courthouse for many years. At-

torneys and officials of the courts

stopped business to pay tribute to

the faithful negro.

"Uncle Andy" Wallace, a negro

porter for 30 years at the hardware

store of S. B. Luttrell & Co., Knox-

ville, Tenn., fell dead in the store.

The Knoxville Sentinel says of him:

"About 15 years ago his employers

bought the house that Andy was

living in and gave it to him for a

home. He was loved and respected

by all who knew him. He was true

to every trust."

A touching incident occurred in

Augusta, Ga. Two young men were

in bathing when Archie Johnson, a

young colored man, responding to

the cries for help, gave his own life

in the fruitless attempt to save

them. Archie's grandfather, his sons

and grandsons had been in the

Bransford's family since the days

of slavery. The bodies of the three

young men, two white and one col-

ored, were put in three caskets ex-

actly alike and placed in the Brans-

ford mansion side by side, where

the funeral services were held. Mrs.

Bransford had three marble monu-

ments exactly alike except as to the

lettering over the three graves.

A negro named Joe Thomas in

Augusta, Ga., was sadly afflicted,

and too poor to get proper medical

attention. The matter was brought

to the attention of Mr. Thomas

Loyless, editor of The Augusta

Chronicle, who took the matter up

with Augusta physicians, who had

the man placed in the Lamar hos-

pital, where he received as careful

attention as a pay patient. The Co-

lumbia Sentinel says: "This shows

the kindly spirit of Mr. Loyless and

the breadth of sympathy for suf-

fering humanity on the part of Au-

gusta physicians. The Augusta citi-

zens are as good friends of the ne-

gro as he has on earth."

As showing the opportunities for

worthy negroes to make money in

the south, the will of Isaac Butler,

a former slave who recently died in

Savannah disposed of real estate

valued at \$12,000 in cash and \$32,-

000 in real estate that was left to

his children and grandchildren.

At Milledgeville, Ga., "Jack

Brooks, one of the best known col-

ored men in the state, died yester-

day," says a special to The Atlanta

Constitution. He served his master

through the Civil war, a member of

the governor's horse guards with

Hon. Thomas Green, of Athens.

In his declining years he was looked

after by the family he had formerly

served. He was caried to the grave

by his white friends.

At Culloden, Ga., the whites and

negroes came together at the white

Methodist church to pay a last trib-

ute of respect to an old ex-slave,

Isham Brown. He had been sexton

of the Methodist church for 45 years

and had always had the esteem and

respect of the citizens of the town.

After funeral services talks were

made by white and colored citizens

and his body was buried near the

graves of those he had loved and

served during a long life.

Some instances of negroes who

have acquired not merely a good

living, but wealth, are presented here

as samples of cases all over the

south. From the survey press bu-

reau we condense these facts: J. H.

Blodgett, a southern negro, began

19 years ago to make a living on a

capital of \$1.10 cash in his pocket.

Today he owns 121 houses in Jack-

sonville, Fla., with a rental value

of \$2,500 per month.

An Alabama negro writes: "When

I was married, I borrowed the clothes

I was married in. Now I have a

farm of 220 acres and rent 40 acres

more. I have a good house to live

in and several houses for my ten-

ants for my six-horse farm."

H. L. Windham, of the contract-

ing firm of Windham Brothers,

Birmingham, says that his firm

built a \$100,000 apartment house for

white people in Birmingham. His

firm employs on an average 100 peo-

ple, all negroes, throughout the

year to handle the \$300,000 worth

of contracts.

Near Albany, Ga., lived Deal Jack-

son, a negro farmer. He was born

a slave—quoting The Albany Her-

ald: "He owns two good plantations

and his credit is good in any busi-

ness establishment in Albany and

his note negotiable in any of the

local banks." For several years Deal

Jackson marketed the first bale of

cotton in Georgia, for which he re-

ceived a big bonus, in addition to the

market value of the cotton. After

the death of Deal Jackson, that oc-

curred a few years ago, Frank

Thomas, a negro farmer who lives

near Albany, is now the first bale

man. In that same county The Her-

ald says: "There are numbers of

thrifty, prosperous negro farmers

and some of them own well-stocked

farms and are getting rich, culti-

vating the lands of this favored re-

gion."

The environment of these indus-

trious and worthy negroes was the

same as that of thousands of others

in the south. They are not molested

in any way, but work out their prob-

lems of labor peaceably and un-

afraid. It is only the vicious and

the lawless who are made to real-

ize that "the way of the transgres-

sor is hard."

These examples of the kindly rela-

tions between the white people of

the south and the well-behaved ne-

groes could probably be largely dupli-

cated in every southern state. They



Race Problem—U.S.—1920  
Negro and the South.

# LET EVERY SCHOOL DOOR BE OPEN

3-25-20

Christian Recorder.

## EDUCATIONAL POLICY SUGGESTED BY PROF. BROOKS—NO WRITTEN OR UNWRITTEN RULE — VOLUNTEER TEACHERS FOR BORDER LINE SCHOOLS.

By Daniel A. Brooks, Principal of  
Reynolds-Gratz Public School

There is at present no officially-recognized, publicly-expressed policy in reference to the education of the colored people of Philadelphia. Should there be any such policy? Let us examine the question.

If one could truthfully say that color is absolutely disregarded in Philadelphia schools, then this discussion would be needless and perhaps harmful, and any such policy would be superfluous and fraught with potential perils. But color barriers have been officially recognized in Philadelphia schools ever since there have been public schools in Philadelphia. The barriers have taken first one form and then another, but barriers have always been there. So long as a group of people in a community is compelled to live a circumscribed, hindered, restricted life, the public school will inevitably reflect (in a lesser degree perhaps) this restriction by the presence of barriers more or less tangible.

So to-day color barriers still have place in the Philadelphia school system through intention and partly through unconscious social changes. For instance (1) schools of colored pupils only, under colored teachers only and under colored principals are being created at the rate of about one school per year, with an enrollment of approximately 1000 pupils per school. This has brought about 5000 colored pupils under such schools in the last five years. (2) No colored teachers eligible to teach in any of the 800 normal or high school positions in Philadelphia. (3) Colored teachers are not assigned to teach classes containing white and colored children though white teachers are assigned to such classes. (4) Here and there are schools which have gathered their colored children in separate

yet keeps its eye on the Polar Star of Right in the sight of God.

Then, since our conception of the future relationship of the races in our city is to determine Philadelphia's educational policy toward the Negro; and since such an educational policy does not exist (so far as publicly known) in any definite and official form; and since further, the welfare of the colored people of Philadelphia is vitally concerned in the operation of such a policy; and since, in fact, the whole question of civic relationship of Philadelphia's future citizens is under tribute to such a policy; let us therefore, with trepidation but with determination, attempt to formulate the primary considerations of such a conception of future relationship of the races:

1. Compulsory education means ultimate educational equality of the masses of citizens. An honestly-administered compulsory law means the eventual uniformity of the mental equipment of the masses of people in a community.

2. Economic and industrial tendencies in Pennsylvania point to an ultimate equality in industrial life. The demand for workers, the scarcity of the supply, the availability of the Negro as the sole adequate supply—these facts spell eventual industrial and economic equality. The American Federation of Labor, when it hrew its doors open to the Negro workman, showed that it saw what was coming.

3. The broadened civic outlook, now so evident in Philadelphia, points to a more equal participation in civic activities of all kinds. A heritage of the World War is the progressive movement toward removal of inequalities of participation of race and creed in all purely civic enterprises.

Or, summarized in a few words, as an ultimate, what we must plan for is complete and integral participation by the colored people of Philadelphia in the Educational, Economic and Civic Activities of Philadelphia! We must lay aside the mistaken hypothesis that the Negro of Philadelphia will form a permanent illiterate and industrially-inefficient and economically-dependent peasant class. There will always be as large a percentage of the Negroes of Philadelphia engaged in menial and unskilled labor as the percentage of the entire population so employed, but eventually the Negro will have infiltrated throughout all the strata of the industrial, economic and civic organization of the people of Philadelphia.

Such an ultimate must be accepted as the inevitable final, though remote, stage of racial adjustment for which an intelligent educational policy must provide a statesmanlike road of approach.

But let us not for a moment forget that a steady influx is taking place, and will continue to take place for perhaps 50 years longer. The steady influx

of unschooled, neglected Negroes from the rural South, constantly being added to the thousands of unschooled, neglected and sometimes depraved Negroes already here, means for many years to come the persistence of the difficult task of receiving, readjusting, working-over, selecting and vocationally-guiding these thousands into a condition where they can be assimilated by the Philadelphia social mass.

It is here that the ordinary Philadelphia school and the ordinary Philadelphia school teacher broke down; here in the attempt to handle the almost superhuman task of transforming these neglected beings into fit candidates for full membership in Philadelphia's family of citizens. And it is here that the colored teacher and the colored principal have stepped into the breach; have offered themselves "as a ready and willing sacrifice" for the betterment of these unfortunates of their race. It is their remarkable success in handling this task that has made the Philadelphia school authorities call for more and still more colored teachers. Honor to their success! But let us not be stampeded into a sweeping segregation of all Philadelphia Negro children into separate schools. The school restricted to colored children and colored teachers is only a temporary expedient, necessary while certain intermediate stages of development are taking place—necessary (1) during the years that must intervene while the masses of colored people are being brought up to the economic, industrial and social level of the average citizen; and necessary (2) while the masses of American white are being trained in the public schools to conceive of their colored fellow-citizens as an integral and desirable part of the citizenship of our country, with the right to participate on equal and identical terms in all the public institutions for the training of the future citizenry of the country. We owe it to ourselves, as intelligent educators of the future citizenship of Philadelphia, to prepare these neglected Negroes for the great future that will become theirs, their children's or their children's children. Let us then, in the light of the broad conception of future relationship of the races as we have outlined above, formulate the terms of an educational policy for the public education of the Negroes of Philadelphia.

### Educational Policy

1. Every public school door in Philadelphia must be kept open to all properly-qualified children, without regard to race, creed, or wealth.
2. Wherever a group of a thousand colored children of elementary school age and of retarded and neglected type are naturally gathered in a neighborhood, place them in care of a faculty largely of their own race, under a Negro principal.

Let there be no rule, written or unwritten, to prevent the attendance of a child not of the Negro race if his parents desire him to attend.

3. On border lines between Negro neighborhoods and white neighborhoods, where therefore the races are brought into most frequent contact, we have the natural ground for constructive efforts at teaching proper race relations. In such localities organize schools of mixed faculties, choosing the teachers from volunteers, white and colored, and appealing to their highest sense of self-sacrifice and their love of our country's high ideals of justice and democracy. Let these schools be clearly understood to be aimed at proper race relationship developed by the guiding hands of consecrated and highly trained patriots. Let us not forget that this great development must begin simultaneously at the kindergarten and the university and gradually and slowly work toward the middle ground of education.

4. Organize business and trade courses in schools in Negro centers under faculties chosen expressly for willingness to work toward development of Negro mechanics and business men and women.

5. Organize a comprehensive system of afternoon and evening trade, business and academic courses. Supplement this with community betterment groups under expert supervision.

6. Set any standard, however high and broad it may be, for teacherships in normal, high and junior-high schools; but, having set the standard, open the examinations and eligible lists to all qualified candidates without restriction as to color.

7. The Board of Education and the Board of Superintendents are composed of persons whose lives are apart from the lives of the colored people of Philadelphia. They do not attend the Negro church, they do not visit homes of Negroes. They have no Negro intimate friends. Their consideration of matters concerning the Negro must then be almost entirely theoretical and superficial. Until the time comes when the question of race will not enter in even the remotest way into educational policies, it is necessary that at least one colored person be associated with these bodies as especial counselor, interpreter and agent.

8. Each year Philadelphia public schools have 232 scholarships to bestow on worthy high school students or graduates. At least fifteen of these should be given yearly to carefully-selected colored young men and women for study in the best classical and technical college of the land, so that there would soon be a constant supply of trained young colored people, imbued with the best ideals and knowledge and culture found in our great colleges, ready to carry the leaven into



the great mass of Negroes and thus leaven the whole lump.

In conclusion, let us resolve upon preserving a frankness, an openness with regard to the educational plans involving the Negro in Philadelphia. "Open covenants, openly made" is an ideal not unattainable among those who intend justice and friendly actions toward all. And furthermore, educational betterment becomes effective only when the people to be helped understand and become willing and active agents in their own upward development. Education must be not only "for the people," but "by the people." Fear not; trust the Negro; appeal to him to "set his people free, free from ignorance, crime and sloth. He will not fail his country."

2221 N. College Ave.

## LOUISIANA NO FIT PLACE FOR RACE SAYS STANLEY

Freeman Editor Back From Southern Trip Convinced That Land of Sugar Cane and Cotton is no Fit Place For Ambitious Negroes.

7-3-1920  
(By Gabriel Stanley)

Immediately on my return to Indianapolis from a semi-vacation business trip of fourteen days to points in the state of Louisiana, I was unexpectedly honored by being called upon by numerous friends and constant readers of the Freeman to write a synopsis of my observations of present conditions of things racial, as I saw them during my recent short visit to that portion of the country on the other side of the Mason-Dixon Line.

In response to this request on the part of the above individuals, who have always been and are still rightly interested in the welfare and progress of the race as a whole, I will do my utmost with the very limited amount of space at my disposal to satisfy what should be regarded as a most timely and novel request.

### Races' Relationship Bad

To commence with, I want a state candidly that the relationship of the races throughout Louisiana and especially in the smaller towns of that commonwealth continues to be unimproved and unbearably bad. Very uninviting and objectionable, I believe is a more effectively descriptive term with which to refer to conditions as I found them to exist in that land of sugar cane and cotton, as far as our people there are concerned.

### Much Apparent Dissatisfaction

To say there is not much dissatisfaction among the latter with reference to the persistent effort of the south to remain against all reason a solid and narrow south, would be a gross misrepresentation of things.

Upon investigation, I found that with a very few exceptions, (and this applies even to the most ignorant and seemingly disinterested Negro), the desire of the colored people of Louisiana, to migrate from that state to anywhere this side of the Mason-Dixon line, has assumed a stage which I feel justified to describe

as being very creditable to them indeed, without causing serious trouble to himself. I am certain that as far as colored people and many innocent people of his race, (no one is concerned, it cannot be said with matter how legitimate his act may be), a particle of the truth that Louisiana is "No white trash should have the audacity to take a like step with me." This was a fit place in which to live. Its very air is contaminated, so to speak with men was quite right. Her action was something which is infinitely repugnant for many days widely talked about and and uninviting to the present day ambitions and self respecting Negro.

### Pre-War Idea Still Alive

That same old well known pre-war idea of keeping the Negro down and on a par below that accorded a dog, is still there and it is as fresh as ever.

Illiteracy among the vast majority of the whites in New Orleans, where the greater part of my time was spent, is a striking evidence of the criminal laxity of education in that city and throughout the state. Ignorance therefore in the full sense of the word is alarmingly great. A condition I think that is responsible to a vast degree for many serious discrepancies that are constantly hobbling up between the two races that are plainly regarding each other more and more with a hatred bitter enough to some day, assert itself into terms disastrous to both.

### Colored People Leaving Weekly in Great Numbers.

The colored people of Louisiana and its environs are fully awake to the absurdity of ever expecting any material change of condition there that will have a tendency to make life in those parts more attractive to them is proven by the fact that they are leaving by way of New Orleans for points in the west and north by the hundreds weekly. They are leaving because they are rightly dissatisfied with the colored man's lot in the south. I ascertained in every case where I made it my business to question many of these new home seekers that they were forsaking the south for the dignified purpose of bettering their conditions, educationally and economically. There is not a single right thinking individual in the country, I do so, to keep everything that way. The am sure who would not see in this great well known white southerner's hypocrisy and unprecedented exodus of Negroes is still asserting itself among the colored from the south to the north and west, a step in an absolutely sensible direction. It suffices to say that they can not see why, in spite of the fact that they are just as much entitled to it as any other citizen, they are, nevertheless being denied the common protection of the courts, and the recognition due all law-abiding people. As an example of the utter helplessness of colored people in this connection in New Orleans, I think it will be interesting to relate the following little incident, which took place during my visit to that city.—Because a colored woman passenger, on an up town street car, persisted in getting right change, after paying her fare, she was beaten up most unmercifully on the car by the conductor. In this case, not a hand was raised in the defense of the woman, not even by the husband of the latter, who was right on the spot. He was afraid possibly of being mobbed by the whites that were on the car.

On another occasion one of this same type of street car lowbreeds attempted to help a colored woman off car, only to receive a stinging fist blow in his face in appreciation of his courtesy. The woman's contention was that no colored man dares put his hand on a white woman

### Few Fools In Evidence

But in spite of all this, I had the experience of coming in contact with a few fools of the race there (males as well as females), who were loud in their praise of the south and its good white people.

In the case of the men so hypocritically based, I found that this is so most invariably because of dire ignorance. The woman who affect to be fully satisfied with conditions as objectionable as they are, (and they are bad enough), are, I am convinced in the majority of cases, influenced by reasons not mentionable here.

### State No Place For Colored People

To put it in a nut shell, Louisiana, as a permanent residence for colored people of the ambitious type is more objectionable now, than ever. And it goes without saying that instead of improving it strikes rather forcibly that things are clearly sinking into a worse condition.

### My Bossism and Marse Charles

The obnoxious inclination to forever humiliate and make a veritable play thing, so to speak, of colored people, on the part of the whites, is still as much in evidence as it has ever been. The "Marse Charles," and "My Bossism," with all its objectionable and enslaving effects on colored citizens mind is still being expected of the latter, (no matter how prominent),

if the most depraved and insignificant white person. The city courts are still disgraced in their business of administering justice. Everything is bad. I may add that it seemed to me that it is the intention of those with the power to right thinking individual in the country, I do so, to keep everything that way. The am sure who would not see in this great well known white southerner's hypocrisy and unprecedented exodus of Negroes is still asserting itself among the colored from the south to the north and west, a step in an absolutely sensible direction. It suffices to say that they can not see why, in spite of the fact that they are just as much entitled to it as any other citizen, they are, nevertheless being denied the common protection of the courts, and the recognition due all law-abiding people. As an example of the utter helplessness of colored people in this connection in New Orleans, I think it will be interesting to relate the following little incident, which took place during my visit to that city.—Because a colored woman passenger, on an up town street car, persisted in getting right change, after paying her fare, she was beaten up most unmercifully on the car by the conductor. In this case, not a hand was raised in the defense of the woman, not even by the husband of the latter, who was right on the spot. He was afraid possibly of being mobbed by the whites that were on the car.

What I have tried to show is that Dixieland will be Dixieland for a long time yet, with all that goes with it, as far as the Negro is concerned. The day is not near when any changes for the better can be effected under these circumstances. The proper thing for our people there to do is to get out of the state they are doing, and go into the great north and west where I am sure they will receive the treatment which is due them as human beings, and bone-fide citizens of the United States.

## Tribune's Argument Refuted By Banner

The East Tennessee News, 3-15-1920  
By Associated Negro Press

Nashville, Tenn., March 15—There has been very extensive comment on the recent editorial published in The Chicago Tribune in which there is the claim that the "Negro controls the South." There is much difference of opinion concerning the reasoning of

### The Tribune.

"Nothing especially ill-natured was intended in the article probably," observes the well known Nashville Banner, daily, but it abounds in prevented facts, and tortured logic. Neither premise or deduction are correct."

### The Banner continues:

"It has been made an argument against women suffrage in the South that it would make voters of Negro women, but the real objection to it has come purely of that conservatism that is a very marked Southern characteristic, especially in regard to women and the home."

The Tribune article is only another exhibition of misconception concerning the South.

In saying that the Negro dominates the South the Tribune possibly meant that the fear of Negro domination was held the South solidly Democratic in politics. That view is more clearly warranted than anything else that it says in the article quoted, but even that is not wholly true and the rest is far from the mark. Prohibition began in Maine and it prevailed extensively in the country west of the Mississippi river as it did in the South, and for very similar reasons.

The Negro is not so much a problem in the South as labor generally is in the North and the South is better able to pass and maintain prohibition because it has a smaller foreign population than the North has.

### The South and the Negro

By BEDFORD MASS STANLEY  
NOVEMBER 19, 1920

The superintendent of the state employment bureau in Cleveland is worried over the Negroes out of a job. They are shiftless and inefficient, he says, and nobody will hire them. "I feel certain," he goes on, "that there will be a crime wave if the Negroes continue unemployed very long. Some organization ought to see that they get back to the South. The South knows how to handle them and we do."

The South's handling of the Negro, as a matter of fact, has been a failure to the extent that the minute he got a chance he migrated. Make no mistake about the Southern attitude, whatever it is or is not, it does not contemplate getting rid of the black man. One might think to hear the talk of the Negro's propensity to sex crimes that the South would like to get rid of him. That is far from the truth. As a cheap, easily exploited, safely-to-be-imposed-on source of labor, the black is invaluable, and the South wants him. The Southern Negro policy aims at keeping the Negroes in

the South to do the heavy work; that it has not kept him proves its failure. When the bloodhounds chased Eliza across the ice it was in the great free state of Ohio that she sought refuge. Yet Ohio is manifesting, today, much the same attitude toward the Negro that prevails in the South. Northern communities where the Negroes have become numerous show a tendency to adopt the Southern policy, perhaps because it is the only well-formulated policy in actual use.

Until the Negro becomes a fourth-dimensional creature he is bound to take up room in the world, wherever he may be. He was brought here much against his will by pious New Englanders and others and sold into bondage, and here he is going to stay. What is to be done about it is a terribly difficult problem. In solving it, we must at the start get rid of one delusion, and that is that the South knows how to handle the Negro. It doesn't. Its policy has failed. If it had succeeded there would be no rapidly increasing Negro problem in the North.

### AS TO "STATE CONSCIOUSNESS."

Writing in The Nation's Business for October, Arthur Wall Douglas, has among other things, this pertinent remark:

The philosophy and feeling of State's rights, however they may be defined, have far deeper roots than merely the legend of the thirteen separate colonies united for a common cause. For in the last analysis they rest as a living force upon that unexpected yet vivid and undying state consciousness of the people of each separate commonwealth.

It is too late to say what State rights are, but not too late to think of what they ought to be. In recent years we have lost one or more State rights every time anybody asked for them. There are a few rights left the States; but how long they are to remain with us we could not undertake to say. But the fact is that the States, as they were, are perishing. They are melting in the common pot of Federal consolidation, losing identity, losing character, losing force and prestige. A "State consciousness," mentioned by Mr. Douglas, still remains and will continue to exist, but we have so circumscribed the State that it has little left but consciousness and the pride of its citizens in its traditions.

In undermining the force and power of the States we are destroying local self-government, by means of which the highest measure of personal freedom is vouchsafed the individual. And if the American experiment in government is not designed to give the individual the greatest possible latitude and to see what is the highest point to which individualism and liberty can bring man, ever before seen in the world, what other purpose animating us is higher?



Race Problem - U.S. - 1920.  
Negro and the South.

# THE SOUTH IS WAKING UP IT IS CONTRIBUTING TO THE NEGRO'S EDUCATION

*The negro world 12-14-19.*

**South Carolina Voted a Memorial of \$100,000 for Her White Soldiers and \$100,000 for Her Black Soldiers—"The Negro Specializes in Friction, Though Not Openly Against the Government"—The Question Today Is, "Can the South Hold Its Negro Labor?" It Can, If It Grants the Negro Political Equality.**

By SIDNEY D. FRISSELL.

	No. of School-houses.	States.	Amounts Contributed by—			
			White People.	Colored People.	Mr. Rosenwald.	Total.
Alabama	179	\$43,776.60	\$8,145.00	\$91,764.93	\$55,450.00	\$199,435.93
Arkansas	22	10,525.00	1,435.00	8,654.00	9,500.00	30,114.00
Georgia	23	2,975.00	10,202.00	17,532.00	7,500.00	38,209.00
Kentucky	5	6,045.00	250.00	4,041.50	2,600.00	12,936.50
Louisiana	49	9,300.00	3,000.00	33,390.00	17,600.00	63,290.00
Maryland	4	2,700.00	500.00	1,125.00	1,450.00	5,775.00
Mississippi	28	3,613.50	13,644.93	19,253.25	12,276.00	48,787.70
North Carolina	85	31,651.00	3,926.50	35,787.75	24,365.00	95,730.25
South Carolina	9	3,300.00	8,376.00	5,696.00	3,900.00	21,272.00
Tennessee	59	72,905.00	3,870.00	26,150.00	39,175.00	142,100.00
Virginia	38	26,555.00	750.00	21,784.80	19,800.00	68,889.80
Total	501	\$213,345.50	\$54,399.45	\$265,179.23	\$193,616.00	\$726,540.18

That some Negro leaders "see red" and incite others to "see red" is not surprising. But the record of a race which was loyal in slavery, faithful in reconstruction, and patriotic in war may be borne in mind at a time when I. W. W. mobs fire into troops from overseas, and wholesale arrests for sedition are made among our white population.

I asked a widely traveled Southern leader in public education about this race friction in the South. "Well, sir," he answered, "the Negro specializes in friction, though not openly 'agin' the government," and proud of it, like some of our Irish cousins."

The keenest specialists in friction are busy just now. So also are some real Negro leaders, like Robert Morton, Isaac Fisher and John Gandy, specialists not in friction, but in co-opera-

tion, who preach good-will while they demand a square deal for their people.

While certain Negro writers heap abuse upon the South and stir race bitterness, there are Southern governors, newspapers, and speakers as loud in their condemnation of lynching and mob violence as the Northern press.

Governor Brough of Arkansas, who stopped with an iron hand the Negro insurrection stirred up by firebrand preaching, has voiced in no uncertain terms the duty of the South to the Negro: "As an American citizen the Negro is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and the equal protection of our laws for the safeguarding of these inalienable rights. . . . None but the most prejudiced Negro hater, who oftentimes goes to the extreme of denying that any black man can have a white soul, would controvert the proposition that in the administration of quasi public utilities and courts of justice the Negro is entitled to the fair and equal protection of the law."

An example of how Southern cities are solving their race problems, step by step, is shown in Nashville, Tenn.

A committee of fifteen on race relationships, appointed by Nashville's Commercial Club, has worked out a simple, practicable plan which promises to reduce racial friction in that city to a minimum. Leading Negroes were asked to formulate a definite program of desirable local procedure. At a later meeting this was presented and adopted unanimously by the white committee. It covers six points:

Humane treatment by the police when arrests are made, with fair and impartial trial at the Petty City Court; and the Deputy Magistrate's Court; correction of unfair discrimination on street cars whereby colored passengers do not receive the same treatment as white passengers; equal salaries in schools and equal wages for equal work; improvement and development of parks and playgrounds for colored people; courteous treatment at railway ticket offices, tax receiver's office, and all public offices where Negroes must go in attending to routine business affairs; a correction of unkind statements in the press, with a ban on unsubstantiated stories of Negro crimes.

A sub-committee of three was appointed on each of these points. Money was provided for the employment of a

white attorney for one year, who will give his entire time to petty court proceedings and who will, with the sub-committee on that section, investigate treatment of Negroes by police and sheriffs, assessments of fines and bills of costs, and garnishment levies.

A series of meetings will be held at the Commercial Club, beginning with the city officials, including the chief of police, the city judge, and policemen, who will be guests of the white committee. Later the street car officials, and as many motormen and conductors as possible, will be invited. There will also be a meeting with the city reporters and editors. At each of these meetings the entire program of the club committee will be outlined.

"Probably the chief thing of importance that has yet been accomplished," says the chairman, "is that fifteen busy men are greatly interested, as well as deeply concerned, in these matters, and are willing to make an open fight for fair dealing with the colored people. There is a genuine desire on the part of every member of this committee of white men to bring about a speedy correction of these matters that have heretofore rarely, if ever, been thought of as existing."

## Other Cities Join Movement.

That white citizens of Memphis, Norfolk, Atlanta, and other Southern cities are meeting their colored citizens, to insure a square deal, is not a topic for the propagandist of race hatred. Nevertheless, constructive leaders of the two races "carry on."

Some of the greatest industrial plants of the South, like the Tallahassee Power Company of North Carolina and the Newport News Dry Dock and Shipyards of Virginia, have assured their Negro workers equal chances with others for good houses, good schools, clean play, and welfare work. When the North bids high for labor, these plants at least will be well served if another exodus occurs.

The need for trained teachers and leaders for the colored people has brought support from the South for Negro high schools and even universities, as never before, during the last five years.

A few months ago, a Southern planter strolled into the campus of Fiske University for Negroes, at Nashville. After looking over the buildings where Negro students are trained as teachers, he stepped into the office of the president. "I reckon you can use this," he said, and threw down a bundle of Liberty bonds. Before the president of the college could recover from his surprise after counting \$5,000 in Liberty bonds, another package hit his desk. "I reckon you can use this,"

and another \$5,000 was added. Quite satisfied that his investment in the training of Negro teachers was well made, this unexpected donor departed as quietly as he came. At a dinner last May, the Commercial Club of Nashville, Tenn., raised \$11,000 for the same Negro college, with the same purpose of investing in thorough training for leadership.

When Southern men give freely to Negro universities which train Negro leaders by classical courses, they cannot be accused of narrow views on education.

To train the Negro teachers for country schools, seventy-seven new county training schools have been built in Southern States within a few years. The building of these for colored children has been aided by white and colored people alike. That the best people of the South can see the need for better Negro schools is evidenced by a statement of the superintendent of public instruction for North Carolina, who said in a report:

"It is manifest to me that if the Negroes become convinced that they are to be deprived of their schools, and an opportunity for an education, the wisest and most self-respecting Negroes will leave the State, and eventually there will be left here only the indolent, worthless, and criminal part of the Negro population. . . . The experience of one district in Wilson county some years ago illustrates this. The county board of education found it, for various reasons, impossible to purchase a site for a Negro schoolhouse. Before the year was out the board received several offers from farmers to donate a site. Upon inquiry by the chairman of the board as to the reason of these generous offers, he was told that when it was learned that no site for a schoolhouse could be secured and that the Negroes were to have no school in that district, at least one-third of the best Negro tenants and laborers there, moved into other districts where they could have the advantages of a school."

"What happened in this district will happen in the entire State if we give the best Negroes reasonable grounds to believe that their public school privileges are to be decreased or withdrawn."

While mob violence, injustice and race discriminations are all too frequent in our American scheme of democracy, it is well to remember that increasing numbers of the white and colored races are working together in the South for a better day.

When the regiments came home from overseas, South Carolina voted a memorial of \$200,000 for her returned soldiers. One hundred thousand dollars went for her white soldiers and \$100,000 for her black soldiers. The memorial for the white troops went to the State University, and that for the



Negro troops was given to the Orangeburg Colored Institute.

The gift of South Carolina in memory of white and black soldiers who died to save democracy, goes to the betterment of two races. It is not only a memorial to native-born Americans of two races who served America—it is a testimonial to the spirit of the new South.—New York Times.

ST. JOSEPH'S MICH. PRESS

JULY 1, 1920

## RACE TANGLES

According to a speaker at a recent social service conference in North Carolina, white citizens in this country have followed four lines in facing the race problem. Her summary of those four methods is not flattering to the fairness or forward vision of the race that likes to think itself as superior to all the colored races.

The first method is extermination. Only a few whites consider this a satisfactory method of dealing with a great problem. But the fact remains that there are still lynchings and burnings of Negroes in this country, in the north quite as much as in the south, and of innocent Negroes as well as of guilty ones.

The second method is deportation. There are many advocates, among both whites and blacks, of the return of all Negroes to Africa. But there is no assurance that this would work. It seems to be impracticable no matter how it is looked at. In the first place, most Negroes want to stay here, and in the second place, the white man does not want them to go.

The third "method" is called so only by courtesy. It is indifference and neglect, and is the policy pursued by the great majority of whites. It is the easiest way, of course, requiring little or no thinking and only an occasional expression of sympathy for the oppressed race or of concern for the governing whites. It solves no problems, and by its very passiveness permits injustice and outrage to go on unchecked.

The fourth method is Americanization. The term is not wholly satisfactory. It includes a great deal not at first apparent. It means the education of the whole community—white citizens as well as black—in love of country, obedience to its laws, good citizenship, fairness to all. It calls for better education for Negroes, with their schools as well equipped

and efficiently administered as the school's for white children. It means justice in the courts—which is too often denied the Negro actually, although granted theoretically. It means economic justice, wholesome and decent living conditions in cities everywhere.

Perhaps the problem is one we shall never wholly solve. But certainly an honest attempt at solution along the lines suggested in the fourth method would do much to decrease its greatest evils and to make less bitter and hopeless the Negro's outlook on life.

## White Church Men Discuss Race Relations Freely.

*Express*  
7-27-20

An usual number of prominent white churchmen, ministers and laymen, have in the last few weeks spoken before in behalf of the Negro. The Bishop of Mississippi, at his recent diocesan convention, made a telling speech against mob violence in general and that of his own state in particular; and urged his hearers to uphold divine and human law by putting a stop to the crime. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Georgia recently published a strong appeal for legal and economic justice in that state without regard to race. Dr. Alexander, of Atlanta, representing the inter-church World Movement before the Southern Methodist women in their annual Council, urged wider recognition of the Negro's rights and privileges, and the obligation of white Christians to give the Negro child better care and fuller opportunity. Dr. Blackwell, of Virginia, president of Randolph-Macon college, speaking before a Methodist conference, laid on Southern white Christians the obligation for ending mob violence and making race clashes impossible.

Dr. Blackwell especially commended the inter-racial conferences being held in most of the Southern states, as a means of better understanding of the Negro and the causes of his unrest. He urged the protection of Colored people from radical influences by a policy of open justice and sympathy from their white neighbors, to whom they should be able to turn for the righting of any wrong imposed upon them.

Bishop Bratton of Mississippi, in his address as president of the Southern Sociological Congress, declared Christian ethics the only solution of race problems for white or black; and in closing the conference he made a moving appeal to the Negroes for patience and faith in the growing body of white men and women who are determined to work out relations between the races in harmony with Christian principles.

The Southern Baptist Convention in May took an equally pronounced stand. The convention, especially commended the inter-racial conferences already referred to, and urged active cooperation with them.

These are but a few instances of many. Church leadership is especially strong in the South; and nothing is more promising in the outlook for interracial harmony than this movement in church ranks.

—So. Pub. Committee.

## WHAT NEGRO WANTS COLUMBIA S. C. STATE FEBRUARY 9, 1920 Better School Houses and Instruction in Agriculture.

To the Editor of The State:

The negro farmer in South Carolina has been thinking for a long time. He has at last come to the point where he is thinking collectively of his own interests. His mind has become made up that he must better his economic and social condition. Wherever one meets a group of farmers today, he finds that the farming negro wants the following things:

1. The negro farmer wants good school houses. He is willing to do his part in getting good school houses. But he believes that the state and county should help him educate his children by assisting him in providing decent school houses for his children.

2. There is a persistent demand on the part of the colored farmers that the country schools be open longer than three or four months. He sees that his children are growing up in ignorance and that the main reason for this is miserable schools.

3. More than ever before the negro in the country wants competent well paid teachers. He knows that his children can not be properly trained by teachers who do not know themselves. He wants teachers well trained in agriculture and home economics, cooking and sewing, and other rural needs.

4. The negro farmer wants a thoroughly equipped agricultural plant at Orangeburg, on the State college campus, to which he will have free access at all times. He wants this plant fitted up and equipped with modern laboratories so that State college will be able to train his boys and girls to farm in an intelligent manner. He feels that the state should furnish him this plant for the completion of the education of his children.

5. The negro farmer wants help in his fight against the boll weevil. He wants some of his own race to come into the counties where he has already been troubled by this pest and help him get on his feet again. In every other county in the state he is appealing for aid. He wants prepared negro men who know how to grow peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, potatoes, corn, fruits, and garden products to come and teach him. He wants to raise hogs, cows and poultry but he needs instruction along the latest improved lines. He believes the state should help him meet his problems now. He wants men who can go into his churches, schools and homes and help with the problems of diversified farming. He wants leaders who can sympathize with him as well as teach him. He realizes that he is in for the fight of his life during the next few years. What he wants to know is "Where can he get help?"

6. He wants protection and justice at the law.

7. The negro farmer wants better school houses, longer school terms and more competent teachers because he has become conscious as never before of what a drawback ignorance is to him. He has found out that disease, crime, and poverty go hand in hand with illiteracy.

8. He wants his boys and girls trained in agriculture and home economics because he finds that it is becoming harder and harder for him to farm the new way. He also finds that his boys and girls are leaving home soon and he knows that this is because they are not taught country life. He sends his boy away to school and he learns the things about the city and never comes back. He wants his school at home to teach about the things there. He wants an agricultural college thoroughly up to date where his boy can go when he leaves the farm and complete his education in scientific farming.

9. The negro farmer wants the state to help him because:

(a) The 1920 census will show that there are more than 100,000 negro farmers in this state.

(b) The 1920 census will show that 25,000 negro farmers own their farms.

(c) He has always stood squarely by the state in every movement started for the best interest of the people.

(d) He wants to remain on the farm where he with his families number 750,000 and develop South Carolina's natural resources.

He will remain on the farms of this state, and all other Southern states if he is given a chance to live completely. We believe the Southern white man, as never before, is prepared to guarantee to the negro farmer the things that will make him prosperous, contented and happy. What is needed is a start in every county and community of the state.

Benj. F. Hubert,  
Director of Agriculture, State College,  
Orangeburg, S. C.

## STEPS ON CAR AHEAD OF WHITE WOMAN AND IS FORCED OFF AGAIN

10-24-19  
Young Texas Woman Failed

to Allow White Sister to  
Get on First. J. O. Midnight Writes of Texas

*The Appeal*  
Travelling in the state of Texas, the home of the Postmaster General Burleson, and the state where a county Judge recently assaulted John R. Shillady of the N. A. A. C. P. for teaching Negroes "Social Equality," J. O. Midnight, finds that colored people are arrested for all kinds of "crimes" including getting on a street car ahead of a white person. He says:

"For instance, in Texarkana, Miss Clara Mays, who was doing some concert work in the south, stepped on a street car in front of a white woman. She was told by the conductor to step down and let the white woman on first. This she refused to do. He refused to take her fare, rode to the next block, called an officer of the law, a police officer at that, and this young woman was escorted off by this polite, courteous representative of the law, carried to the city HOTEL, where she was required to assure the city that her board would be paid, although she did not care to intrude on hospitality. But they insisted that she should put up the guarantee or abide there. The next day, she was ushered before the judge and when he had heard how she had offended a white woman, by stepping on the car first, she was requested to make a contribution of \$25 to Texarkana charity fund. There was an appeal made, and believe me that they wanted to start some thing that very night. The daily paper spoke of the large number of white people who remained away from the city reception room, and how this race had flocked there to hear the case, and some of them "Big Negroes" wanted to pay the fine. They thought it was sufficient for a race riot, but the cooler

heads of both races got their heads together and stopped it.

"Representative colored men are being ordered away from their homes, some not even allowed time to pack up, but must leave between the rising and setting of the sun, and on a long hike. Attorney N. S. Taylor, went to Washington a few weeks ago, and was elected president of the Equal Rights League, and before he could reach home there had been a decree issued that he could no longer live in Greenville, Miss., but must seek other quarters. Mississippi, says that the Negro should be debarred from using the ballot, for if you give him the ballot he will vote out of office the good white men, men who will condemn crime, men who will permit lynching, men who would ride in office on abusing the Negro and stirring up race strife and hatred. Men who can be sent to the Senate because they would indorse lynching. Lord how long?"

"Rev. R. T. Sims, was forced to leave his church in a little town in Mississippi, because one of the preachers did not like him, and told the white folks something which was not true, and without investigating he had to leave.

"The editor of one of our papers in speaking in Washington a few days ago said "The time to stop a lynching, was to stop it when it took place." What he meant I don't know, and I don't care, but I think it worth considering.

## J. O. MIDNIGHT'S SEBALL PLAYER URGES AID FOR RACE IN SOUTH

*The Appeal*  
Johnston, Ga.

them, I know that they are made much better citizens by education and believe that that is the only chance they have of escaping their present condition in many parts of the south."



## THE NEGRO IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

We are giving here a brief opinion concerning the present situation relative to the status of the Negro race within our community and state. We are thus expressing ourselves that the appeal may reach many thousands of white people who are unaware of certain conditions as exist right under their noses and against decent men and women of the Negro race in this community. None of us are desirous of making open exposures of our community life no more than we would be willing to expose the family differences that arise in home circles and domestic affairs. This publication does not belong to that class of race haters and unthoughtful agitators nor do any of our worthiest publications belong to that group. Our interest is identical with that of the best thought of the community and seeks only to establish peace, good-will and prosperity to all mankind.

We suffered much criticism on the part of many because of our outspoken and continuous loyalty to the American government. The women of our race in this district and the men stood one hundred per cent loyal, and no effort to rout the enemy was ever pushed harder by any race than by the Negro men and women of the Birmingham district, Jefferson County and the State of Alabama. This race seeks no pay for these services. We looked upon it then as a duty; we stood then as American citizens, in that we received our pay and were happy over the fact that we were loyal, we were true. And we have a history of 300 years unblemished by a single disloyal soldier or a man whose body was wrapped up in black skin. We have white friends in Birmingham, we have white friends throughout the state. This publication speaks with authority when we make these utterances. We had them during the war and we can but believe, because of their own utterances and because of their own friendly and sympathetic association, we have them now. We repeat, we make no charge for our history of loyalty, love for government and state; we only ask for justice, commonsense justice, protection at the hand of the law and equality in the sight of the law. We ask for no privilege that is not ours by merited right, gained through blood and tears, obedience to law, service to community and state. Upon these we rest our appeal and ask that at this crucial point of our existence that we not be counted down because we are black, while other men are counted up because they are white. All we ask is not a change of law, not a special dispensation for black people, but an honest administration of law that is now law for American people and the blacks being numbered among the group.

So much has occurred in the past in the way of friction between the races that the present situation is made the more difficult. Interracial distrustfulness has aggravated the successive stages through which we have come, until it is difficult to find any common ground on which to stand to be heard in pleading even a cause of common equity. The difficulty is the more enhanced by the fact that if a Negro takes the initiative in pleading his cause, even upon common-sense principles, he is in danger of being accused of "bootlicking" the white man even when he is doing no more than seeking a basis of conciliation in order to excite merited respect; neither can an advanced white man advocate the homely virtues of justice, protection and encouragement of the worthy Negro without being charged with seeking or encouraging social equality of the races. In this way conservative and conciliatory members of both races are met by opposition.

Yet here we are, not only in the same community with a common community interest, and mutually interdependent, we need the whites and the whites need us. The Negro can render a service which the whites cannot, and the whites can do for the Negro what he cannot do for himself. Many Negroes own property and are as much interested in the suppression of vice and crime as the white can be, yet too often we are classed together as Negroes merely, without discrimination, and the good and bad Negroes are jumbled into a single class as the common recipient of wholesale denunciation. While this is not the universal rule, it is largely common. If the Negro protests he is thought of as being "uppity." If he asks for a fair discrimination, he is often mocked.

In a situation like this, where is the hope of subsequent relief? The disadvantage in every respect of the case is with the Negro. There is no hope of encouragement and stimulation unless it comes from the friendly whites. In large measure, the interests and the destiny of the black race is in the hands of the white race. If we are ever to rise in the scale of improvement it must be largely through the encouragement of the whites. If we are always to be kept back and kept down, we suffer from discouragement, antagonism comes, and both races suffer.

Turning the picture around, suppose the worthy Negro was encouraged and inspired to the extent of his worthiness—man, woman, boy or girl; suppose the wayward were admonished instead of being always denounced and punished, nothing would be lost to the whites and much gained by both races, and the whole community would be stimulated to a higher standard

of life. But we often suffer in ways unknown to many at the hands of under-officials—abused, denounced, and even more roughly treated. What redress have we, what but humiliatingly to submit? If every one thus treated had an influential white friend to whom he could go and enlist his sympathy in redress of his wrongs, the case would be different, but the strained situation makes that difficult.

Personally, we have sought and are still seeking as the editor of The Birmingham Reporter, to rectify as far as we may be able, the difficulties of a prevailing situation in which we are much interested. Our columns are open to the inspection of the world. We neither seek to advocate nor encourage anything that is not for the good of all, but it is fearfully discouraging to an unfavored race when it is often demanded of its people that they "make brick without straw." More especially is this the case, when in the protection and direction of our people by a race highly favored and in control, the resulting good would be tranquility and contentment, and happiness and prosperity for all alike.

Our plea is embodied in a most respectful spirit in the foregoing, and is it expecting too much when it is hoped that it may arrest the attention of our white friends? If to accomplish the end herein sought, expense is involved, we are willing of our poverty to contribute to it so that it may be had, and a sense of permanent security is established so that we may be able to make the most of ourselves as a people who desire to do everything possible for the good of all concerned.

Briefly in respect to suffrage, we have interests to be protected and the ballot offers us this opportunity. We are interested in the election of good officials to administer affairs that relate to all interests, ours included, and we venture to suggest that we have a worthy sharing in this respect.

### MERIDIAN MISS DISPATCH

There must not be any misunderstandings arising from the reported action of the great convention, for the South is too well along with its improvement of the situation to brook any interference just at the present time. **THE NEGRO CAN BE GRANTED HIS RIGHTS WITHOUT PRACTICING THE SO-CALLED SOCIAL EQUALITY**, or rather, social intermingling, which would mean the complete obliteration of his race, and the race that practiced the reprehensible practice with him. With a blood so thoroughly established by Nature itself, as to revert back to types after generations of amalgamation there is no doubt but that **THE NEGRO RACE HAS BEEN DESIGNED BY THE POWER OF CREATION TO MAINTAIN ITS IDENTITY THROUGHOUT TIME**. Exclusive social customs alone will maintain this position.

The race problem has advanced until it is no longer one which need arouse the hatred that has marked its course during the past fifty years. There is nothing in the operations of the laws of the land that will bring back again those days of misunderstanding, when through the force of military power the ideas of men not familiar with the problems were forced upon the helpless South, and the negro race, just released from slavery, was too ignorant to judge of the possibilities of their own race and were led into a false ideal for their future.

But, as years have healed the breach and education and Christianity have been developing in the hearts of all, it is easy to see, in the not very far distant future, the living of the two races side by side, with each profiting by the exchange of labor and products of their toil, and, at the same time **EACH MORE EXCLUSIVE IN THEIR SOCIAL PRACTICES THAN THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST**.

### MERIDIAN MISS DISPATCH

JUNE 12, 1920

That the negro race should be allowed to advance its material welfare along the same lines, and with the same kind of means as the white man has advanced his, is but the admission of a principle of common justice; to assume that it is necessary for a barrier, erected for the preservation of both races, by nature itself to be removed in order to reach this end, is to admit oneself incapable of understanding the best interests of both races.

It is neither rebellion nor treason to state that neither the white nor the black in the South will attack the problem as apparently the balance of the country thinks they should. But this does not mean that they will not attack it at all; **IT SIMPLY MEANS THAT IT WILL BE SOLVED IN SUCH A MANNER AND IN SUCH A WAY AS WILL CONSERVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE TWO RACES AS DETERMINED BY A MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO HAVE TO LIVE WITH IT**.

Race Problem - U.S. - 1920.  
Negro and the South.



The Crisis, the mouthpiece of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its May number carries a very significant admonition to Atlanta. In view of the fact that the Association is to be Atlanta's guest during its annual meet makes the lecture the more significant. For the guest to lecture or threaten the host of its rights in the home of the host—it is a little out of the ordinary, and in a degree shows meddlesome grace. It is a presumption of good breeding that the host will grant to the guest every hospitality and freedom, compatible with the well established relations between host and guest. But for the guest to put the host on notice of its rights in the premises, and of its purpose to exercise such rights even to the discomfort of the host, not only prejudices the possibility for guest and host to get together on common grounds, but is a portrayal of a radicalism that threatens the very foundation of free institutions.

The south has certain well defined views on the race question, as well as on economic, industrial and social problems, and frontal attacks against the south because of the faith that is in it, will not in any way dislodge the south's prejudice or lay the friendly foundation necessary to bridge our differences.

The Independent, like the Crisis, believes that the south is fundamentally wrong in its position on the race question, and can never solve the problem from the angle it is now viewing it; but we do not believe that we can convince the south of the error of its way by frontal attacks—we must by common sense and sound reasoning undermine the south's prejudices in order to bring it our way.

Whether the Crisis is willing to admit it or not, the south is the dominating section of our country—forcing its propaganda in every other section—never yielding its views or opinions on any question, and by the force of its rugged character and uncompromising determination, compels every other section of our common country to accept the worth and value of the Negro at the estimate it places upon him as a factor in the national life.

We are glad to have the National Association among us—our governor, mayor and chamber of commerce invited the association, well knowing the radical views of its leaders—well knowing that its policy as well as the purposes were in direct contravention of the policy and views of the southland. Without regard to race or color, we sent an invitation to the association and will entertain it royally and extend to it our hospitality and permission to express its views unmolested and untrammelled. Therefore, it appears to us unwise and farfetched for Prof. DeBois to lecture to Atlanta of his purpose and to serve notice on us that the association comes for the purpose of irritating the situation instead of to find common ground upon which we all can stand and agree long enough to convince the other of us of the righteousness or wickedness of our way.

The south is wrong and the Independent will never agree with its position of the curtailment of the rights of the black man; but neither the Independent nor the National Association can remedy this unfortunate situation by telling the south in a dictatorial manner, that "you are wrong"—neither can we get our vote, stop lynching, increase our school facilities or abolish jim crow cars by the mere utterance of these afflictions. We must fight for our rights in the courts by able counsel. We must lift ourselves above the unconstitutional qualifications imposed upon us by the state legislatures which deprive us of our vote. We can do much more by demonstrating our worth and usefulness as citizens than we can by frontal attack from the platform and pulpit.

Man's rights do not come to him because they are written in the law, but because he earns them by worthy and useful living. Man gets only in this life what he earns—not what he deserves. We are suffering from many afflictions, many impositions and proscriptions and the National Association is a great instrumentality laboring to remedy these national evils, but it will make but little progress by frontal attacks. The best argument we can make against the denial of our rights will be the accumulation in great quantities of grace, grit and greenback, much wealth and respectability. These are the elements that count in the civilization of the world, and helpful agitation will help to bring these results; but we cannot hope to accomplish them by a radicalism which makes for the stirring up of strife and a further separation of the races.

We quote the following lecture from the Crisis, who represents the guest to Atlanta, the host:

#### ATLANTA

"We go to Atlanta in May. We go there because Atlanta is near the center of the problems of 12 million Negroes, which we seek to solve.

"We do not go truculently or with braggadocio—not as irrational extremists or as fire-brands—but simply to say to the south plainly, earnestly without pretense or equivocation:

"We want to vote

"We want lynching stopped

"We want schools

"We want 'jim crow' cars abolished

"We want labor peonage ended

"We want decent conditions of wage and labor and a cessation of insult and slander.

"In return for this we promise to use our vote for the common good and not for venal traffic. We propose to continue to increase in intelligence and good manners, to work hard with head and hand and heart, to own our homes and to protect them, and as far as is humanly possible to abolish crime and poverty among us and among our neighbors."

#### NEGROES IN THE SOUTH

OKLAHOMA OKLAHOMA OKLAHOMA

FEBRUARY 27, 1920

In an address at Hampton Institute, Virginia, General Pershing commented favorably upon the fact that the education of the negro population is receiving constantly increasing attention from the people of the south. He said that he has been struck with the activities of the educated colored people of the south and that he has met "many colored people of high character and ability."

General Pershing's statements may be a surprise to those who have formed the habit of villifying the people of the south without taking the trouble to find out what the southern people have been doing for the negroes. It will not, however, be a surprise to those who know the facts. In most southern cities—probably in all—educational advantages of a high order are offered the negroes in the public schools. There are also number of noted negro colleges and universities in the south. For instance, at Nashville there is a negro medical school which has a worldwide reputation and there are two negro universities there which offer a high standard of academic and professional courses. Then, there is the famous negro school at Tuskegee, Alabama, and the Hampton Institute in Virginia, and a number of others. In some of these schools there are unusual social advantages for the students, the negro boys and girls having clubs and fraternities modeled after those in the white educational institutions.

Negroes in the south also have advantages in the business and agricultural world. In some southern cities there are banks, whose stockholders, officers and directors are composed entirely of negroes. There are theaters owned and managed exclusively by negroes. There are successful negro real estate dealers and attorneys. And there are negroes who have made a success as merchants. A negro who died in Memphis several years ago was one of the wealthiest residents of the city, having acquired his fortune as a result of his own efforts in business. There are prosperous insurance companies owned and managed by negroes. One of the largest publishing houses in the country is that of the negro Baptists, located at Nashville. As farmers on their own account, negroes have also made good. In Arkansas, for instance, many negro farmers own automobiles and in addition, have a healthy bank balance. At Little Rock, last year, one negro farmer—just an average-looking negro—paid income taxes on an income of \$2,500 after deducting exemptions to which he was entitled for supporting his wife and children.

Those who have lived in the various southern states and are personally acquainted with conditions there, know it to be a fact that there are unusual opportunities for success and happiness in the south for law-abiding negroes who go about their business without any attempt to stir up the issue of social equality with the members of the white race.

#### A BLOW TO SECRETARY

EMMETT J. SCOTT

We give here an excerpt from the Savannah Press. We fail to see why the fact that this prominent South-west Georgia lawyer considered it a "hell of a come off" because he addressed Mr. Emmett J.

Scott as "My Dear Mr. Scott." If it is because he is a Negro we hold that this courtesy is due him. The rules of Rhetoric hold true as to the correct salutation in correspondence whether said correspondence is directed to a white or a black man. We do not use the word "dear" literally in letters but as a mere sense of courtesy due the person addressed and "Mr" is the title of every gentleman, white or black.

#### Negro Secretary

A prominent Southwest Georgia lawyer, who was formerly in the legislature and took a prominent part in the enactment of the bone dry laws in the spring of 1916, put in circulation a rumor in the Kimball House lobby that the assistant secretary of war of the United States was big yellow Negro.

"He is none other," said the lawyer, "than Hugh L. Scott, formerly private secretary to the late Booker T. Washington. I have been writing him letters and addressing him as 'My Dear Mr. Scott.' Ain't that a hell of a come off?"

It was difficult for the Kimball House gossip to believe such a thing. Even the Westonian brethren who do not worship at the Wilson shrine, were loath to swallow such an assertion. They knew in reason there must be some explanation.

#### Is Private Secretary

Inquiry was made and developed the fact that Hugh L. Scott is not an assistant secretary of war—either first, second, third or fourth—but is a private secretary to Secretary Baker for the purpose of advising him concerning the handling of Negro troops and their vocational training. He was employed during the war when thousands of Negroes were drafted into the army. He is said to have rendered useful service in a position for which he was peculiarly qualified.

"That may be true," said Mark J. Yeomans, (the Southwest Georgia lawyer in question) who was here from Dawson yesterday, "but just the same he has written me concerning matters that did not involve Negro troops, and I have addressed him as 'My Dear Mr. Scott.' I still insist that it's a hell of a come off."



Race Problem - U.S. - 1920  
Negro and the South.

# HOW RACE RIOTS AND RACE PREJUDICE ARE FOMENTED IN MISSISSIPPI

**Lee Russell, a Candidate for Governor, Praised Because He Said "This Is a White Man's Country" — Ex-Governor Longino, Another Candidate for Governor, Condemned Because While Governor He Appointed Negroes to Office, Commuted the Death Sentence of a Negro Who Killed a White Man and Recommended an Anti-Lynching Bill.** 11-29-19.

*The Negro World* 11-29-19

## LEE M. RUSSELL, THE NEXT GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI

**EDITOR'S NOTE:**—An interesting political pamphlet published last summer has been called to our attention. Two candidates for Governor of Mississippi are described. On the front page appears the cut of Lee M. Russell who is praised because "he has no sympathy with those men who try to give the Negro false ideas as to his place in this country. On pages two and three, Gov. Longino is described, who is condemned while as Governor he endeavored to give the Negro asquare deal." This and other attempts to capitalize and exploit race prejudice for political purposes to enable white men of mediocre ability to ride into political office is the cause of 75 per cent. of the race prejudice, race riots and lynchings in the South. The pamphlet reads in part:

Lee M. Russell is the champion of WHITE SUPREMACY IN MISSISSIPPI. He knows the Negro question is a serious one, and one that challenges the heart and attention of every true Mississippian. He does not think that this question can be put aside, but says that it must be met and handled BY THE WHITE MEN OF MISSISSIPPI AND THE SOUTH in the proper way. He says further that this is a white man's country, and that the white man will forever rule it, as he must and should, in order to secure the happiness and security of himself, his family, and Anglo-Saxon civilization. He has no sympathy with those men who try to give the Negro false ideas as to his place in this country.

**THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY, AND THE WHITE MEN OF MISSISSIPPI WILL RULE AND MUST RULE IF THE WHITE MAN'S CIVILIZATION IS TO BE PRESERVED.**

Russell recognized the serious aspect of this problem years ago, when his political enemies were decrying the existence of a race question. He is therefore equipped to meet the crisis today.

LONGINO ADMITS HIS MISTAKE  
ON REMEDY FOR LYNCHING OF  
NEGROES IN HIS PAPER, "THE

MISSISSIPPI TRIBUNE," OF

JULY 3, 1919.

Read the following:

"LONGINO ON LYNCHING"

Admits Mistake of the Remedy He  
Suggested Twenty Years Ago."

Hon. Woods C. Eastland, chairman  
of the Longino State Committee has  
given out the following signed state-  
ment by Hon. A. H. Longino, candi-  
date for Governor, which is self-ex-  
planatory:

"To the People of the State of Mis-  
sissippi:

"On the 16th day of January, A. D. 1900, when I was inaugurated as Gov-  
ernor of Mississippi, I then deplored  
the fact of the existence of the mob  
spirit in the State, and that it was  
the increase to such an extent that  
lynching was visited upon the suspect  
not only of the crime of rape, but of  
many other accusations and offenses  
of less degree.

"True it is that nearly twenty years  
ago, while Governor of Mississippi, I  
made a mistake in recommending this  
remedy for mob violence."—The Mis-  
sissippi Tribune, July 3, 1919.

**White Men of Mississippi Do YOU  
Endorse This Record?**

**LONGINO ON THE CONFEDERATE  
SOLDIER.**

No doubt Longino would like for  
the people to forget the statement he  
made while Governor, that he was  
"TIRED OF ALL THIS CONFEDER-  
ATE ROT."

**LONGINO'S RECORD ON LYNCH-  
ING NEGROES.**

**READ LONGINO'S RECORD ON  
ONE OF THE MOST VITAL QUES-  
TIONS BEFORE THE WHITE PEOP-  
LE OF MISSISSIPPI TODAY.**

As stated by the Pontotoc Sentinel  
in a recent edition: "Longino admits  
he was wrong on the negro question  
twenty years ago, and he is still  
wrong."

We suggest that you read the record  
Longino made in regard to the pun-  
ishment of counties for lynching ne-  
groes. Should it become necessary to  
hang some disgusting negro brute he  
proposes to make the county where the  
lynching occurred pay the family of  
the lynched party a large sum, large  
enough to make the paying of it a  
burden. His words are: "Let the  
amount of said damages be made suf-  
ficiently large to engage public oppo-  
sition to the payment thereof." You  
will find that part of his record on  
page 97 of the House Journal for the  
year 1900, or on page 99 of the Sen-  
ate Journal for the year 1900, which  
reads as follows:

"I WOULD THEREFORE RECOM-  
MEND TO THE LEGISLATURE THE  
WISDOM AND EXPEDIENCY OF  
PASSING A LAW GIVING TO THE  
FAMILY OF ANYONE WHO MAY BE  
HEREAFTER LYNCHED A RIGHT  
TO RECOVER IN THE CHANCERY  
A FIXED SUM IN DAMAGES  
AGAINST THE COUNTY WHEREIN  
THE LYNCHING OCCURRED. LET  
THE AMOUNT OF SAID DAMAGES  
BE MADE SUFFICIENTLY LARGE  
TO ENGAGE PUBLIC OPPOSITION  
TO THE PAYMENT THEREOF AND  
LET THE RIGHT OF RECOVERY BE  
PREDICATED ALONE UPON THE  
FACT THAT THE LYNCHING WAS  
DONE IN THE COUNTY WHERE  
THE RECOVERY IS SOUGHT. It is

not unusual that prisoners are taken  
by mobs from jail and from the cus-  
tody of the officers without resistance  
the office of Sheriff or Constable shall  
become vacant, ipso facto, whenever  
any prisoner is taken from the jail or  
lawful custody of such officer or his  
deputy and mobbed. In my judgment  
the time and occasion are here for  
some stringent measure and it is to  
be hoped the Legislature will prove it-  
self equal thereto."

—House Journal, 1900, page 97, or Sen-  
ate Journal, 1900, p. 99.

Look up Longino's record for your-  
self. Do not take his word for it. He  
will not tell you ALL of it, but just a  
little bit of it.

Longino admits that he made the  
above recommendation but says now it  
was a mistake. A terrible mistake for  
a man who was Governor of the State  
to make, is it not? How many more  
like mistakes would he make should he  
become Governor again?

**SOME MORE OF LONGINO'S NEGRO  
RECORD.**

Longino, as Governor, appointed a  
Negro Republican, H. B. Whitefield,  
Election Commissioner in Sharkey  
county.

Longino, as Governor, appointed a  
Negro Republican, J. G. Turner, elec-  
tion commissioner in Wilkinson county.  
Longino, as Governor, appointed a  
Negro Republican, J. C. Chappell, as  
Notary Public in Greenville.

Longino, as Governor, appointed a  
Negro Republican, H. Q. Branch, as  
Notary Public at Vicksburg, and this  
Negro had been convicted in Federal  
Court of Pension Frauds.

Longino, as Governor, pardoned a  
Negro, John Nance, convicted in Yazoo  
county in 1868 of raping a white wo-  
man, at the time immediately after  
the Civil War, when the State was un-  
der carpet bag rule. Longino par-  
doned this Negro March 30, 1901. The  
Negro was given the extreme penalty  
for rape when convicted, life imprison-  
ment at that time being the highest  
penalty. This Negro's attorneys sought  
a pardon for him at the hands of Gov-  
ernor McLaurin, which was refused,  
Governor McLaurin making the fol-  
lowing statement in the matter when  
he refused to grant the pardon: "I will  
not pardon a negro who has committed  
an outrage on a white woman. Let  
John Nance stay where he is. I agree  
with you that he has been there too  
long—he should never have been sent  
there at all. He should have been  
hanged."

Longino commuted the death sen-  
tence of a Negro who killed a white  
man in Chickasaw county. The white  
man killed was a brother of Hon. W.



S. Gilgleylen of Aberdeen, Mississippi.

The Negro was sentenced to be hung.

The whole truth is and the people will remember that Longino had to control the Negro Republican delegations to the State conventions, for his brother-in-law, Edgar S. Wilson in order that these delegations might be instructed for Roosevelt, who was a candidate for re-election to the Presidency. In turn, Roosevelt appointed men to Federal offices in Mississippi who would support Longino for the United States Senate to defeat Senator Money, who Roosevelt cordially despised on account of the effort made by Money to re-open the Indianola post office, after Roosevelt had ordered it closed, when the people of Indianola had kicked Minnie Cox (a Negro woman) out in spite of the protest of Edgar S. Wilson. Roosevelt to "stand by Minnie Cox."

—Collins Commercial, Collins, Miss. June 26, 1919, a paper supporting Oscar Johnston for Governor.

Longino tries to explain His Pardon of the Negro convict who raped an old white woman, 70 years old in Yazoo county. Read the following affidavit made by Mr. John Barefield, an old Confederate soldier of Yazoo county, who has gone to his reward:

The following is taken from the files of the Yazoo Sentinel now in the office of the Chancery Clerk of Yazoo county, and dated July 23, 1903:

"THE NEGRO RAPIST PARDONED BY LONGINO."

"Mr. John Barefield Makes Affidavit As to His Guilt."

Much has been said in the public press about the Negro Nance, who assaulted an old lady in Yazoo county many years ago, and who was pardoned by Gov. Longino a year or two ago. The Governor's defenders have tried to make it appear that there were grave doubts as to Nance's guilt, etc.

A negro teacher and preacher named J. M. Williams of Shelby, Miss., who was in Jackson yesterday attending an important meeting of his race, called at the Clarion-Ledger office to endorse the position taken by this paper in opposition to the Anthony amendment. He says the negroes are doing very well in this and other Southern States, and will continue to prosper if not stirred up by such measures as the federal amendment, which has within it no good for the negro of the South but possibly much of harm, as it may get political notions in the heads of negroes who can accomplish no good by seeking the ballot. He is a publisher of "The Watchman," which circulates 5,000 copies weekly among people of his own race. He says the paramount issue with the negro of today is home, school, and church.

## THE NEGRO AND THE SOUTH 9/7/20

It seems to us that the continual migrating of the Negro, the safe and dependable laborers of the South, should soften the hearts and mollify the consciences of that class of our white neighbors that continues to threaten his peacefulness here.

The South is the home of the colored brother and, all other things being equal, of a right should be his permanent abode. It was here that he cherished his fondest hopes and near the waving corn and blossoming cotton fields, and, under the "red old vine-clad hills" of Georgia and the South, the Negro and his scions have for years, sung in wierd but significant melodious strains, their morning matins and their preludes to repose and here they should abide in peace, protected by laws which should "apply indiscriminately to all classes of beings," whether black or white. *Savannah Journal*

Georgia once blossomed in agrarian beauty. Land arable and productive, was at a premium. Untenanted houses in the rural districts were the exceptions rather than the rule and if the section was not prosperous it was because of the superabundance of labor, and as a consequence, over production of material. In spite of inadequate living conditions, low wages, poor school facilities and the unequal enforcement of the law, there was, at least, an exterior show of satisfaction upon the part of labor and things went merrily on. Now, we are experiencing the reverse of these conditions. The cities are overcrowded; living quarters are at a premium, while in the country, farms and farm houses are vacant and labor is scarce. Production of necessary commodities is curtailed and prices of these commodities are sky high. There is a continuous trend to the North and the West of the class of labor that has made Georgia and the South opulent and happy. There is a cause—causes.

The Negro has not been protected in the pursuit of life and liberty as he should. His rights and privileges under the law, have been, in many instances, denied—legally denied him. If he votes, his vote counts for naught if registered against an officer not of his choice, for the will of the democratic primary is the will of the people. He must join with the majority in obedience to law, but he has no voice nor vote in the selection of the executor of the law. His school conditions are not in keeping with the demands of the times. The crowded conditions of the school houses is a handicap to the instructors and a menace to the healthfulness of the children. There seems to be a growing feeling of hate of the Negro by whites of certain sections of the South that brings to the colored brother uncomfortable forebodings, dissatisfaction and irrepressible fear. The feeling consequent to such conditions suggest only one alternative and that alternative is to "lift tents and hie away" to more congenial climes.

The Negro is constantly, leaving the South, not because he so desires, but rather that by these unnecessary practices, he is being driven away. He leaves his native strath with much misgiving. He loves the land of his birth, yet he is leaving the land he loves. He is peopling other states and in several of them, already, he holds the balance of power. He goes North or West and registers and can vote. The capable ones receive consideration in the councils of the city and state because they are men. Common laborers receive better pay, better housing conditions. Their children get better school accommodations. These are the inducements which are carrying them away.

The leaving of the Negro laborer may be a mistake. If so it is not his mistake solely. It is the mistake of him and the

states or state.

The South is an open field of responsive soil and yields abundantly to honest and ardent toil. Her people are good, but they are pronounced "cleavers"—Cleavers to the laws of custom—victims of popular thought. The politician realizes his hopes by his professed and expressed enmity to the black man, while black hands arrange the festive board, around which they assemble in caucus. Black hands nurse and protect the children and succor the sick. The Southern white man trusts the Negro and is it possible to separate trust and love? Herein is the anomaly, the solution of which rests in the hands of Him, the "latchets of whose shoes we are not worthy to unloose."

The awakening, however, will come. Will it come late? Will there be regrets upon the parts of our white Southern fellow citizens? Well, we guess, "yes." When farms are transformed into gardens of weeds or tenanted by the crafty and seditious foreigner, whose apposing argument is the bomb; when the political complexion of the nation is changed so that the "Solid South" will live in memory only. Then, we believe, Southern white men will know what the service of the Negro to the South was as they will realize that similar conditions will be no more. O, for a reversal of thought, based upon the fact that—

"We ask not for favors because we are Negroes, But only for justice because we are men."

THE DAY IS COMING

Sometimes we have published under the caption of "What the White Man Thinks," articles concerning the race problem from leading papers, particularly in the South. We have been interested in reading the comments upon the recent attempt at lynching at Graham, N. C. Three Negroes were arrested for a crime and landed in the jail. Governor Bickett of North Carolina, who before this has distinguished himself as being outspoken against lynching, called upon a machine gun company to protect the Negroes and told them to shoot and shoot straight if necessary. The result was that the Negroes were protected and the mob was repulsed; one was killed and several wounded. The almost unanimous sentiment expressed by the papers of the South was in favor of the law. We are reproducing an editorial entitled "In Defense of the Law," from the Atlanta Constitution, one of the South's leading papers. The editorial stands unequivocally by the law against the lynchers.

The development of sentiment in the South with regard to lynching has had three phases. Years gone by there was an attempt by some of the Southern journals to defend lynching on the ground that it was the result of rape, and the only effective way to curb the Negro "brute." It was almost universally believed that rape was the cause of lynching, and when evidence was not at hand, wild stories were manufactured all over the South charging the Negro who had been lynched with the crime of rape, usually adding that the lynched Negro had confessed. It was not until colored men and their friends began to look into the facts that it was found that rape was not only not the cause of lynching but that the great majority of Negroes who were lynched were not even charged with rape, and that a great number of those who were charged with rape were not guilty of rape. The Southern press then had to abandon its position of justifying lynching on the ground of rape.

Then followed a period of protracted silence when both press and pulpit were silent as regard lynching, except when there was a lynching in the North, when the South, both in press and pulpit were very outspoken in condemning the North and endeavoring to show that lynching was not a Southern crime. But the fight against lynching has been so strong within the past three or four years has been begun a very decided change, so that now there are a large number of white people all over the South willing to take a stand against lynching. To-day there is no large daily paper in the South that defends lynching, and most of the journals not only do not defend it but loudly condemn it; condemn it even for the crime of rape. This means lynching must stop. The whites see that it hurts them as much as it hurts the Negro, if not more.

Just as public sentiment has been changed with regard to lynching and we are very near the time when lynching will be made a crime in the South as well as in the North we must not relax our efforts along other lines. The iniquitous Jim Crow laws, the disfranchisement and other discriminatory laws are just as bad as lynching and just as much in disregard for the rights of humanity as is lynching. We must double our efforts in protest against these injustices and we believe that both press and pulpit, which are now defending them to a large extent, or which are at least silent, will be brought

to our defense and will use their efforts in making public sentiment against those conditions which should not in any way be tolerated anywhere in civilization. But it is for us, the Negroes, to make the fight.



# Negro and the South

## THE SOUTH'S MISTAKEN POLICY

*The Atlanta Constitution*

That the South has had a great opportunity—the greatest any section of the United States ever possessed—no sensible and intelligent American will deny. It has it now if it will pause in time, but it is fast slipping away from it.

The opportunity referred to is the 8,000,000 colored Americans who live in the south. These native Americans have lived here for three hundred years, and from an economic and industrial standpoint, they are better adapted for the development of the resources of the south than any other people on earth. They are patient, long suffering and inclined to submit to more humiliations and intolerance than any other people in the world. We doubt whether any people would have submitted to the persecutions, privations and hardships such as colored men and colored women have in the south. This has not only been done since Emancipation, but during slavery—two hundred fifty years. They understand every phase of the south's resources and the characteristics of the white people of the south. They understand the white's strong points and their weak ones much better than their white neighbors understand them. They have been willing to submit to these short comings of their southern neighbors even when it tried their souls to do so—even when they treated them worse than they did dogs, horses and cows.

Our southern neighbors have never understood our hopes and aspirations nor has he tried to. On the contrary, they have shut their eyes to these things and tried to persuade themselves that Negroes are less than human beings and less than men. They have never treated them as human beings and men like other men. They have magnified his weaknesses and vices and made mountains out of mole hills. They have studeously avoided commending his virtues and good traits. The southern press which moulds and shapes public opinion, has kept the strong points of our men and women in the back ground and minimize them for all they were worth. It has endeavored to give the world a false impression. They have published us as being murderers, rogues and rapists by forever calling attention to our criminals rather than the law-abiding God-fearing men and women. In short, it has been the policy of our white neighbors to publish us to the world as petty thieves and criminals. In that respect we are the worst of sinners according to their version.

To a great extent they have succeeded in making the world believe it. The Negro has this to confront nearly everywhere he goes. This propaganda has spread to nearly every nook and corner of this country. The Negro is not better and no worse than any other race; their proportion of criminals is just about that to be found in other race groups. Their law-abiding and upright citizens are just about in the same ratio as will be found in other races.

But our southern neighbor has had an ax to grind, and that is to impress our friends the world over that we are an inferior race and, therefore, not entitled to all the rights and privileges under our government. They have tried to make good the propaganda which they have preached and practiced since our entrance into this country; that we are a servile race and only fit to be accorded such rights and privileges an inferior race should have—and the white men are to be the sole judges of what these rights and privileges are.

In the meantime, he has ignored the fact that the Negro is endowed with mind and faculties just like other men. They have allowed their prejudice and hate to dethrone reason. They have eyes and see not, and ears and hear not; for nothing so blinds and dethrones reason as prejudice and hate. It is for that reason that our white neighbors in the south have not tried to learn our aims, hopes and aspirations. On the contrary, they have tried to crush them. They have tried to make us believe that we were nothing and that it was an unpardonable sin for us to aspire to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for which governments were instituted to secure to all men without regard to race color or creed. This is also shown in the atti-

tude of our esteemed contemporary, the Macon Telegraph, one of the leading dailies of the south. It said a few days ago, "We do not any longer recognize him (Johnson), in any such capacity. We do not in the least connect with him the Negroes of Georgia. He has outlawed himself in the eyes of Georgia white people; and for his race in this state to ever again follow under his banner would be a most harmful thing for them to do, a suicidal step, that level-headed Negroes will never take."

Would the Telegraph have made such an insulting and dogmatic statement had it regarded Negroes as men capable of thinking and acting for themselves? Not at all!

In last Sunday's issue of the Atlanta Constitution, Mr. Harry Stillwell Edwards, former Postmaster of Macon, in replying to Col. C. P. Goree, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Georgia, said he could not affiliate with the Republican party, because it was "Negro-led." The intimation was, no matter what the ability and character of a Negro may be, he could not afford to affiliate with the party, because of the color and skin of the leader. How absurd and what bosh. Color and skin must be the test rather than ability and character. He makes himself ridiculous to the great men and women of this enlightened twentieth century.

And who is Mr. Edwards? He was a man who, in 1904, was picked up by Major J. F. Hanson and recommended to Theodore Roosevelt, the then President of the United States. In deference to President Roosevelt's wishes, the Republican State Convention, the majority of whom were colored delegates, elected Mr. Edwards a delegate from the state-at-large to the Republican National Convention. He never entered a single protest then against his election by that convention, the majority of whom were colored delegates. But now, when he knows that he hasn't a ghost of a show either in the Republican party or any other party, he repudiates the very race which was instrumental in having his appointed Postmaster of the Macon post office. What base ingratitude! Mr. Edwards does not want anything any more of his fellow colored Republicans and they don't want any more of him, for a man who is incapable of gratitude even from the least of his fellow man, deserves the contempt and scorn of all decent people. Let him be relegated to oblivion where he belongs and all of his kind.

But Mr. Edwards is just one out of millions in our southern section. Like him, they would quarrel with God Almighty for giving the Negro mind, faculties and aspiration like other men. They would impune His wisdom for not making black men jackasses incapable of improvement with no ambition save to serve the white people. Hence the great issue in the south today is whether they will accord black men and women the same civil, political, economic and industrial rights which other citizens enjoy. So far they have shown they are not willing, and the opportunity of making this the greatest section in this country is rapidly slipping from them. The Negroes of this country know their worth and are determined to have their rights here or go where they can receive them.

### THE SHAMELESS TRIBUNE ENTERS THE CAMPAIGN.

(From the Memphis Commercial Appeal.)  
The Chicago Tribune has returned to its old form of maliciousness and meanness, South baiting and South hating. Out of the past the Tribune has brought the mouldy bloody shirt and is attempting to wave it in the face of the soldiers of the last great war.

The Tribune says the soldiers know that the Democratic states did not furnish volunteers for the war. The Tribune is a stupid liar.

The Thirty-third division was made up of Illinois national guardsmen and drafted men, but there were more national guardsmen in the Thirty-third division, made up of Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina troops, than there were in the Thirty-third division, and the population of Illinois is greater than the population of these three states.

The Thirty-third division was typically Southern and from three Democratic states.

The thirty-third division was composed of Illinois troops. They were fine soldiers. They escaped the influence of the pro-German tendencies of the Tribune.

A Democratic division was spared? The Democratic state of Alabama furnished a full regiment to the Rainbow division. It was known as the Fourth Alabama. It had a reputation in this country as a "hard" regiment. It lived up to the reputation and died to that reputation in France. The Fourth Alabama in the war had in killed 606, and it had in wounded 2,760.

Now, we are not boasting that this Alabama outfit was the best regiment in the war. It was a typical Southern volunteer regiment that got over early with the Rainbow division and, along with the old 69th of New York and with an Iowa outfit, it did the bulk of the infantry fighting for the Rainbow division.

The Chicago Tribune says: "The Democratic states did not furnish volunteers for the war." It means Southern states. During the war 15,653 Tennesseans volunteered. During the same war 68,449 volunteered from Illinois. Until the draft came the Negroes could not volunteer. Eliminating the Negroes the proportion of volunteers from Tennessee was higher than the proportion of volunteers from Illinois.

Again, there were only three volunteer regiments made up after the declaration of hostilities. One of these regiments was the First Tennessee Field Artillery, the other was the Second Tennessee Infantry, and the other was a regiment of Arkansas infantry.

As to the national army, the 82d division was made up of troops from Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee. The 86th division was made up of troops from Chicago. The record shows that the 82d division was in the fighting from July until the end. It saw active service as a combat division from the middle of September until the end. It lost 1,338 killed and 6,980 wounded, with a total casualty list of 8,228.

The 86th division was never in active battle service. It, therefore, had no battle casualties. It got over in September, and was over two months.

The 82d, composed of soldiers from the states denounced by the Tribune, got over in May.

The 84th division was composed of drafted men from Kentucky, Indiana and Southern Illinois. The 84th got over, but it had no battle experience that is in the record. It was over two months.

The 88th was composed of troops from North Dakota, Iowa and Western Illinois. It was across a short time and in action lost 27 killed and 63 wounded.

So the record shows that the men from the drafted division composed of Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee troops, lost more than the men from all three of the drafted divisions to which Illinois furnished quotas.

Again congress awarded seventy-eight medals. These medals are awarded upon recommendation of generals. Illinois got seven of these medals. Tennessee got six. Of those medals eight went to the soldiers of the 33d division, which is the Illinois volunteer organization, and twelve went to the 30th division.

The Thirtieth division, according to the statistical summary made by Leonard P. Ayres of the general staff, was in service as a combat division from July 15, 1918, until the end of the war.

The Thirty-third division was in the service as a combat division from about the 30th of September until the end of the war. The Thirty-third division got over about the same time the Thirtieth division got over, but the Thirtieth division went into the fighting in less than sixty days. The Thirty-third did not get into the fighting for ninety days.

The Thirty-third division was in a quiet sector for thirty-two days, and in active service twenty-seven, a total of fifty-nine days.

The Thirtieth division was in an active sector fifty-six days. It was never in a quiet sector. The Thirtieth division captured 3,840 Germans and the thirty-third 3,987. In captures the Thirty-third was a little more lucky than the Thirtieth.

The Thirtieth division fought with the Australians and Canadians, and the Australians and Canadians did not "capture" many prisoners.

In the fighting the total casualties of the Thirtieth division were 11,071. Sixteen hundred and fifty-two were killed and 9,429 were wounded. The Thirty-third division's total casualties were 9,253. Of that number 1,002 were killed and 8,251 were wounded. Does that look as if a Southern division was spared or

CLARKE, ASSISTANT

STATES ATTORNEY AGAIN

USES WORD "NIGGER"

Twice a week

Prosecuting Attorney Clarke, who

several days ago, as was published

exclusively in this paper, in open

court repeatedly referred to a colored

prisoner as "Nigger" repeated the

same stunt yesterday. During the

trial of Mathew Mitchell in Part 2

Criminal Court, Clarke referred to

Mitchell as "the Nigger". Attorney



Ephraim Jackson, who was representing Mitchell, sprang to his feet and protested to Judge Bond as to Clarke's language. Judge Bond called Clarke's attention to it and it was not repeated during the case.

The article which was printed in these columns about Clarke's former offense brought such a response from the public until several protests were made to the State's Attorneys' office. The colored lawyers down town are going to make a protest against the action of Clarke.

#### THE NEWEST IN LAWS

Mississippi legislature has passed a law making it a crime to print or circulate newspapers or other literature representing ARGUMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS in favor of intermarriage or social equality. The current title is given the text of the law as follows:

"An act to make it a misdemeanor to print or publish or circulate printed or published appeals or presentations of arguments or suggestions favoring social equality.

"Section I: Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi that any person publishing or circulating printed, typewritten or written matter urging or presenting for public acceptance or general information, arguments or suggestions in favor of social equality or of intermarriage between whites and Negroes, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine of not exceeding five hundred dollars or imprisonment not exceeding six months or both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

"Section II: That this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage."

The prohibition law prevents the circulation of "likker" recipes, state laws in several commonwealths prohibit the dispensing of birth control literature, and sedition laws still govern utterances against the government, but never was there passed before a law like this.

Just how childish and vindictive at the same time this law is, may be seen from the fact that under it, it is illegal to sell this issue of the AFRO-AMERICAN in the State of Mississippi.

This newspaper contains articles suggesting appointment of constables, equal salaries of rural school teachers, putting of colored men on juries, and each of these articles come under the head of "social equality" as construed by the South.

Colored newsdealers in Mississippi will have to go out of business until the law is repealed, or declared unconstitutional.

#### "THE BETTER SOUTH"—IT'S LOW IDEALS FOR THE NEGRO

*Birmingham Reporter 9/11/20*  
(By William Pickens)

Governor Bickett, of North Carolina, is known to stand far ahead of the average Southerner on the Negro question. So that if one wishes to get a fair idea of the inhumanity of the South with respect to colored people, let him consider the real position of this representative of "The Better South."

In his latest message on the subject, Governor Bickett advocates to the Legislature of North Carolina that it shall establish: (1) A reform school for Negro boys; (2) a sanatorium for tubercular Negroes; (3) a "strictly first-class teachers' training school" for Negroes; (4) and that the laws be amended so as to make the awful Jim Crow car a little cleaner and "safer."

These aims are all good, so far as they go, but the whole program is made impossible of attainment by the real spirit which the governor discloses and the remarkable philosophy on which he bases his motives. He opens with a reference to "the white man's God," forgetting that the Christian religion is by no means an Anglo-Saxon affair in origin and spirit. He does well in the request for a reform school for Negro boys, and it is allowable that he

sees in a sanatorium for Negro tubercular patients a measure of protection for the white race. But he fails utterly when he says in his preamble that "we have definitely decided . . . that white government shall be supreme and unchallenged." He cannot mean that the Negro has decided not to share in government; he can only mean that the white man has decided to do his best in North Carolina to prevent the Negro from sharing. That vitiates the whole matter. There can be no justice with such evil intentions as the motive. The governor and other intelligent white people fail too often to see that you cannot tell a thug that the Negro is to be powerless and helpless and at the same time tell that thug effectively NOT TO LYNCH THAT NEGRO, or to give the Negro equal education, or a white man's trial in court. The thug will always be more logical than the governor and will always know that if the Negro is of an inferior order of being, he should not have a white man's treatment anywhere. If a good Negro is unfit to vote, the bad Negro is unfit to be tried in a court.

In arguing for a training school for Negroes the governor says in plain language that he wants them to get, as Negroes, only such ideals as the South is willing for Negroes to have. How under God's sun could he ever establish a "strictly first-class" school for Negroes with this idea in mind? He fears that if they go North for training, they may get non-Southern ideals. But we will not dispute with the governor here, for the smallest brain must know that whatever degree of education is given the Negro in North Carolina will only tend to send that Negro elsewhere for MORE so long as the North Carolina degree is below that to be received at Columbia University.

The governor also thinks the Jim Crow car is necessary and only needs reforming—as if injustice itself can be made into justice.

To be plain, the governor means this: That the Negro is to be kept under, but should be treated with as much consideration as in the white man's sole opinion the white man's interests will allow. That was exactly the position of the "better class" slaveholder. But even the devil could subscribe to that degree of virtue.

#### A WHITE LADY REBUKES THE ROWDIES OF THE WHITE MALE HIGH SCHOOL.

*The Louisville News*

In Monday's Evening Times a white lady by the name of Miss Tylord wrote a very scathing rebuke of the conduct of a number of boys from the Male High School who were on a Brook street car that was detained for half an hour at Brook and Chestnut streets. She stated that while a passenger on that car the boys began abusing several old, inoffensive Colored men, who were laboring on the street and without any cause or provocation whatever. That the Colored men deported themselves as gentlemen and out of respect to the ladies on the car, refrained from answering these young fellows in the vile language which had been hurled at themselves. She stated that she had traveled extensively in this and other countries and that she had never

witnessed such rude and disgraceful conduct on the part of High School boys anywhere, save here in Louisville.

She inquired why Colored people here are subjected to such indignities. And closed by saying that if these High School boys were devoid of any home training in morals and manner, they certainly ought to be taught some at school. Nobody, on behalf of the Times offered her any explanation of the fact that in this as in all Southern communities children are taught both by example and precept that Negroes have no rights that a white persons is bound to respect. That to trample and spit upon a black man is an evidence of good breeding. That to have respect for the honor of Colored womanhood is a disgrace to a white boy.

This philosophy tends to make such boys soon have as little respect for manhood and womanhood in general as they are taught to have for it in particular. It is the same old disease as lynching, which started in taking the lives of Negroes at the connivance of the law's officials but which culminated in the lynching of a German in Illinois by Southerners there located and which brought our Nation before the eyes of the civilized world a country where lawlessness rules supreme. The lynching of Italians in New Orleans caused international complications under President Harrison and our country had to apologize for the act and indemnify the relatives of the victim. These acts are all of one a part. Disrespect for persons leads to disrespect for constituted authority whether the law of the land or the Rules of the School. Education of the sort these boys are receiving is calculated to make us a nation of Anarchists and Bolsheviks.

The Southern men who attended the General Conference here sounded no pessimistic note. They all report the conditions among our people improving. The whites are said to realize that the Negro must be given better schools, better homes and a better chance than he has heretofore enjoyed. The agricultural sections are beginning to feel woefully the effect of continual immigration of farm help from the South, and hence the Negro farmer is being given a better deal than ever before. The relations between the races is being rapidly changed for the better. Many of the leading whites have formed associations for the purpose of seeing that the Negro is given a square deal in the courts. Lynching will soon be a memory and for trivial offenses will be unknown in the South, at least, many of the delegates think so. Let us hope it is true.

#### Negro Loves South Though Its Unfair to Him, He Says

Entitled to Equal Pullman Berth Rights in South, Says Pastor.

ST LOUIS MO GLOBE DEMOCRAT  
MAY 7, 1920

A discussion of the negro problem based on the negro's primitive love for the South, interspersed with graphic descriptions of the discriminations imposed on the race for the past half century, featured the topics of speakers at the A. M. E. General Conference at the Coliseum yesterday.

Dr. J. W. Robinson, pastor of the Negro Methodist Episcopal Church of Chicago, told the conference that the negro loves the South and will never leave it. He gave it as his opinion that perhaps

no other people would remain in the South under similar circumstances. In the face of racial discriminations, prejudices, cruelties and barbarities, the race is still true to its Southern traditions, he stated.

Dr. A. J. Cary of Chicago, prominent negro church leader, in his address, paid a tribute to the negro's patriotism. Among other statements, he made was that in as much as the negroes unflinchingly had bared their breasts to German gunfire during the recent war, they should at least be allowed to share in the fruits of democracy to the extent of sharing a Pullman berth in the Southern States.

A. S. Jackson, Waco, Tex., negro educator and recognized as the leading negro orator of the country, also gave a short address in which he paid a tribute to growing intelligence of the negro race.

H. Blanton Parks, bishop of the Fifth Episcopal District of Chicago, will preside at the conference today.



# Race Problem—1920—U.S. Neogro and the South.

## "TIME TO HELP"

In one of his characteristic, frantic utterances delivered prior to the recent election and Democratic debate, Mr. Clark Howell, of the Atlanta Constitution, the Georgia Bible, thus wails: "If there ever was a time in fifty years when the white men of the South should aid, in every practical way, the fight for a combination of democratic control in the nation, that time is now." This jeremiad of Mr. Howell is occasioned by his opinion that Mr. Harding's election "would be particularly menacing to this great section south of the Potomac and east of the Ohio." Now that Senator Harding has been elected, we wonder if Mr. Howell still thinks the South is going to be particularly menaced by such a God-sent blessing to the nation as is our beloved President-elect.

The difficulty with the Atlanta Constitution and its oft-repudiated editor is that they both are eternally wedded to the doctrine which is "the most cherished birthright of the South"—white supremacy. Mr. Howell believes rather in white supremacy than in divine supremacy. And here is where he failed in the sixties, failed in the last election and will fail in future elections. In the onward sweep of the moral force of the divine social order as it accumulates scope and momentum throughout the earth, Mr. Howell, very unfortunately, even at this late hour, has not learned that God is not interested so much in "white" supremacy as He is interested in "right" supremacy. In several crises of the world's history in the past it has been demonstrated that the slogan of "white supremacy" availed nothing against the divine slogan of "right" supremacy. It is a source of great gratification to a vast number of folk who belong to the world's "Order of Colored Gentlemen and Ladies of Right" that God is less interested in the maintenance of "white supremacy" than He is in maintaining right relations among the individuals and groups of human society.

Mr. Howell is lashed into frenzy and is frantic because he thinks that Colonel Henry Lincoln Johnson will be "the high priest of the Republican party in Georgia and the South, and will control Southern patronage in a Republican regime," and because of "the unfortunate encouragement Senator Harding is giving to the

Negro publicists of the country." But what has Mr. Howell, being the high priest of the Democratic party in Georgia, to do with Colonel Johnson, who is to be the "high priest" of the Republican party? If Mr. Cox had been elected, Mr. Howell would have dispensed the patronage of his party in Georgia and throughout the South. Why not be fair enough to let alone the Republican "high priest," Mr. Johnson, to dispense the patronage of the party of which he is an honored and honorable member? And if Mr. Howell ranted and raved to rally his constituents and to encourage them to perpetuate "white" supremacy, does Senator Harding sin because he holds up as it were before Colored Americans the mirror of hope for the future, under the stars and stripes for which the Negro made crimson with his own blood the sod on Flanders fields? We suspect the Negro has done as much to validate his claim to equal citizenship within the nation, and deserves as much of encouragement and hope from the nation as any sire or son of the defeated editor of the Atlanta Constitution.

Mr. Howell is a pathetic spectacle. He lost in the national election and he lost in the election of his own State and was woefully repudiated, we think, for years to come. Pity he does not line up with the apostles of right and justice throughout the South and the Nation, and stop rehearsing that little empty speech so signally repudiated by the world in its last Armageddon, "might supremacy through white supremacy," and go to heralding through his columns that slogan destined to become regnant in the thought and ways of the world, "SUPREMACY THROUGH RIGHT."

Moreover, hasn't Mr. Howell enough and more of "white supremacy" already in the Southland? Exhibit A:

"WE ARE HERE!"

Monday you and your crowd go to the cotton field.  
Price \$1.00 for short cotton, \$1.25 and \$1.50 for long cotton.

Pick for no man offering more.

Saturday is wash day for yourselves.

Pick cotton for white people.

(Signed.) Night Riders."

In a certain county in a certain State in the certain South this notice was posted in a col-

ored settlement. It tells the story of "white supremacy," as Mr. Howell preaches. Such is the kind of supremacy that is driving the Negro to the secure, free, voting regions of the North. He is beaten, burned and buried by "white supremacy," at its height in "night supremacy," against all considerations of "right supremacy," and he decides that he must go elsewhere for humane conditions under which to live. We submit that it IS "Time to Help," not Mr. Howell, nor the Democratic party, but it IS "Time to Help" the Negro, and it IS time to help the South to save herself from "white supremacy."

## THE RACE PROBLEM.

Editor The Advertiser:

Press dispatches tell us of the rising tide, both at Washington, Savannah, etc., and of the dire things that will happen to us here in Alabama if we don't let the negro women vote, etc.

Mr. Editor, I want to say a few words about this perennial Southern question.

I was born into it, nurtured on it, and reached manhood's estate in it.

My infancy saw it's existence, my youth its going out and my manhood now witnesses the fitful flames of ignorance and prejudice that would release it into conflagration.

Hence I have some right to speak.

For the respectful and self-respecting negro man and woman, there is a warm place in the Southern heart. Indeed, this feeling kindles into an almost holy affection, when we recall how we used to sit on their knee; hear the wondrous tales of brer rabbit and brer fox; and draw the life pabulum itself from the dugs of dear old "mammy," so that no one has a right to question the genuine sympathy that the South feels for the negro.

And we know him as no one else on these shores knows him!

The negro is not responsible for his presence here. But for cupidity and greed he might be even now eating his snakes and mumbling his gibberish to Mumbo-Jumbo in the depths of the Congo, or the wilds of Senegambia, so far as America is concerned.

He was first brought here by English ships, whose sailors roped him out of the jungles or bought him on the slave markets for speculative profit.

The "trade" flourished, and its glittering profit appealed to the Puritan—for if there is anything that has got a nickel of profit in it, trust Mr. Yank to follow it up—he's built that way. They soon outstripped Johnnie Bull in the nefarious traffic; and like everything else that Mammon touches, its profits soon turned to ashes, and they shoved him off on the Southern planter, where the climate was more agreeable and profitable for his upkeep and raising. I am no apologist for the Southern planter. He bought a bad thing and he knew it, but grievously has he sinned and grievously has he suffered thereby.

I hope his repentance will not come too late to be effective. In the early nineteenth century the Earl of Wilberforce, far-seeing statesman, philanthropist and philosopher, arose in the British parliament and

entered his protest against the human traffic and England abolished it.

The Yankees, seeing it no longer profitable to them, took up the refrain, largely through spite and envy, and never closed hammering at it until finally it was abolished as a coercive war measure (purely incidental), by a beneficent military tyrant in the person of Abraham Lincoln!

So there you have the whole thing in a nutshell. Mr. Reader. Now, let the negro and let all mankind understand that this country is going to be ruled, in the last show-down, by brains and by righteousness.

Evil and error may triumph for a while, but they cannot live—truth alone is eternal.

The answer to this restless nagging spirit of the negro, politically inspired by Boston, New York, and Chicago's vicious idle wealth, is, pay your poll tax, qualify as a capable, intelligent, interested citizen, bring your ballot and "stick her in!"

"The law allows it, and the court awards it."

Truly,

F. B. CULLENS.

## BICKETT ASKS FOR LEGISLATION FOR NEGROES

### Would Secure Better Train Accomodations

Asks Legislation for State Negroes

A commission of five members to be appointed either by the General Assembly or by the Governor, to study necessary legislation for the Negroes of the State and present the matter intelligently before the 1921 legislature, was proposed by Governor Bickett yesterday in a special message to the General Assembly—the seventh in the series of messages transmitted to that body by the Governor.

The white man's obligation, "to protect the Negro in his life and property and to help and encourage him in the pursuit of happiness" demands, Governor Bickett pointed out, the establishment of a reformatory for Negro boys the establishment of a Negro tubercular hospital, the establishment of a Negro teacher training school, and the amendment of transportation laws that will secure to the Negro safer and more sanitary accomodations when he rides on the trains.

Governor Bickett has no idea of recommending the abandonment of Crow regulations. "It is absolutely necessary to the peace and happiness of both races for whites and blacks, to ride in separate cars," he maintains, but when the Negro pays the same fare as the white man, Governor Bickett thinks he is entitled to ride in a car equally as safe and equally as sanitary.

The Governor's message follows:

"Last year I heard a Negro bishop say in a public address that the Negro had accepted the white man's



God and knew no other. We owe it to that God and to the civilization we have builded on his will to deal justly with a tribe of his children less fortunate than ourselves.

In North Carolina we have definitely decided that the happiness of both races requires that white government be supreme and unchallenged. Power is responsibility.

## DEMORALIZING NEGRO LABOR IN

### THE SOUTH.

*He Christianized*  
We are facing a very serious situation in the South. Our friends of the South are attempting to control the restlessness that is found among Negroes, by an attack upon their leaders in several communities where outstanding Negroes have given offense sometimes inadvertently, and most of the while unintentionally. They have been ordered to leave town. Men of large business interests, peaceful men, who have had the confidence of their community, in some cases for a quarter and a half centuries, have been forced to leave their homes and all their interests almost without a moments warning. FOR WHAT REASON? In some cases, they have made severe criticisms of lynching, in other cases, there has been no more than the normal unrest that may be found all over the country, and moreover, all over the world.

We are having in the South, and in other parts of the country, the most drastic criticisms of men and measures, and little is done about it. In fact, white men are protected by those two established institutions in American life, free speech and free press, but when it comes to the Negro, these time honored institution do not work.

We are not attempting to stand sponsor for the individual expression of any individual or any group of men, however, seemingly offensive or not offensive the statement may be. But we do know that the whole Negro population in the South is very demoralized by driving from our midst some of our most leading men and their families.

Not long ago, one of our men in Montgomery, Alabama, was murdered by the process of a broken heart, because he was ordered to leave town. We would take the stand and avow that, we never had a better citizen than he. He was an upright, conscientious, God fearing, patriotic citizen. The offense alleged against him in normal times, would have passed unnoticed, and moreover, would have been considered an act of charity if placed in the worse light. This is just an isolated case. But centers in the North and for that matter, some of the largest cities in the South, are becoming a refuge for men who have been driven from their homes and occupations of a life time for alleged offenses, which, if tried before a judge and jury, even of the most prejudiced

sort, would not receive the slightest sentence.

Our purpose at this time is to call attention to one demoralization that is going on in the rank and file of the Negroes in the South. They are becoming discouraged, they are becoming distressed, and there will not be enough power in heaven or earth to keep them efficient and contented laborers of this process of elimination keeps up. There may be those who will not agree with this assertion, and will think that the Negro can be held in his place. Many may think that this is the sort of defense for the class of men referred to. But we invite a careful and impartial investigation and we are sure it will be found that nothing has affected the peace and happiness of the Negroes in the South during all these years so much as the driving from our midst men and women who have committed no offense that is covered by the laws of the states in which they live, and their going has left us in a very large measure, dispirited.

one white man. He is entitled to ride in a car just as safe and just as sanitary as the one the white man rides in.

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# Race Problem - U.S. - 1920.

## Negro and the South

BOSTON MASS C S MONITOR  
MAY 29, 1920

### The South's Overture

THE progressive people of the city of Atlanta and the State of Georgia have supplied convincing proof of their interest and confidence in the efforts and sincerity of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by inviting the association to hold its annual convention in the capital city of the State. The meeting, soon to be held, is the first of the kind to convene anywhere in the south. The people of Georgia, or many of them, have been generous in their support of the association since its purposes came to be clearly understood, and have contributed liberally, in money, to the work which has been so effectively carried on. But it is often a far cry, as every one knows, from a tacit and sometimes secret sympathy with a cause, such as that undertaken by the friends of the Negro, and an outspoken public indorsement of it. Many patriotic and progressive men and women in the United States, it is safe to say, lent secret aid and support to the cause of prohibition and the cause of equal suffrage, during all the years when the campaigns in behalf of these reforms were not particularly popular. The same may be said of the early-day abolitionists. In its inception, the movement for the abolition of slavery was as unpopular in the north as in the south. Those were brave men and brave women who espoused the cause of the Negro openly, and martyrdom, in some form, was often their reward. But the cause was advanced, as the cause of prohibition and the cause of suffrage were advanced, by accretion, as it were, by the silent, thinking masses who gradually gained a right perception of the problems being considered. Perhaps not one in a thousand of these silent advocates carried a banner or proclaimed the new doctrine from the house tops. That was not the work they felt called upon to do. They supplied, instead, the great moral fiber which gave the necessary strength to the movements and finally made success possible.

The avowed purposes of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People have not been approved popularly in the south. Of this there is no doubt. Spokesmen for the association have insistently demanded better conditions for the Negro in that section, and have persistently pointed to alleged abuses which they have claimed the people of the south could end if they would. Perhaps those people who have been absolutely fair have not denied that many of the criticisms were well founded, and possibly just.

It is barely possible that changed social and industrial conditions, apparent since the early days of the recent war, have caused the people of the south to regard the Negro problem in a new light. But it is quite apparent that the time has come when the south is ready to concede to the Negro a far greater measure of social and industrial freedom and equality than he has ever before enjoyed below Mason and Dixon's line. Just what this measure will be, and just what limits the people of the

south will insist must be set upon it, remain to be seen. The convention to be held in Atlanta will discuss this problem in all its phases. It is encouraging, from any point of view, that the invitation has been extended to deliberate upon these matters in a southern city. The interchange, under friendly auspices, cannot fail, it would seem, to be beneficial to those who heretofore have held possibly divergent views upon a question admittedly of tremendous importance.

CHICAGO ILL NEWS

APRIL 29, 1920

### Touching the Human Side of Things.

#### COLORED PEOPLE WANT TO LEARN.

Prof. W. T. B. Williams of Tuskegee institute, Alabama, spoke recently in Hampton institute on "Contrasts in Negro Life." He said: "It is not difficult to find many good colored homes, in many cases well appointed, beautiful homes, in almost every section of the lower south. Both in the towns and in country places. There are, however, thousands of wretched cabins. Not long ago I rode from Memphis one cold day right down the delta to Vicksburg, Miss. You could scarcely see from the railroad a single home occupied by colored people that was at all attractive. Very few, indeed, gave evidences of ordinary comfort.

"Yet I knew that in some towns through which we passed and in many of those country places there were people with good homes.

"Many colored people have had the advantages of school and have benefited by those advantages and have sent their children to school in large numbers. Many, however, have had little or no opportunity for schooling. Many are large landowners, but there are hundreds of thousands who own no land.

"Among all colored people to-day the desire for education is greater than ever before. Never before have I seen the colored schools so well filled as this year. Indeed, many of them are too full for the work they ought to be doing. Everywhere I find colored people struggling for an education.

"Hundreds of colored public schools have not opened at all this year because they cannot get teachers. In some countries as high as 40 per cent of the public schools have not opened.

"The war evidently emphasized the need of education among colored people as nothing else has ever done. Those thousands of young men who went out from the far south especially, many of whom had had no chance for education came back with keener appreciation of its value than they ever had before. The idea of getting some education has been handed on to their people and everywhere they are striving to see to it that the boys and girls get a little chance at school.

"The exodus of the colored people from the south has had something to do with this increased effort on the part of the public authorities. Many of the people are understanding, as they never understood before, that the south cannot take its place alongside of other sections of this country and hold that place unless it has a higher average intelligence, un-

less the average intelligence of that section can be brought up to the other sections of this country. So, as never before, they are trying to see to it that every boy and girl gets at least a better chance at schooling.

"Only recently we had several conferences and in almost every case teachers reported better conditions than formerly, greater interest on the part of the public school authorities and increased interest on the part of the colored people themselves in the effort to extend school terms, in building better schoolhouses for the children and in giving better supervision to the work of the teachers.

"School authorities in the south are interested in colored public schools as they have never been before, and especially is that true where the school authorities are young, well trained men themselves.

"The masses of our folks are to be educated and trained by young men and young women like yourselves. The 2,250,000 negroes in the south who cannot read and write must be educated by negroes.

"The burden of that much needed work is upon those folks who have had such opportunities as you are receiving at Hampton."

### Lawlessness Begets

#### Lawlessness

Anderson, S. C. has been in the grip of the white lawless element for a number of years. Ignorant and vicious politicians have figured dominantly in the leadership of the county and with the only principle such men subscribe to, "anything to get office," they used the Negro as the football to arouse the hate of the white voting masses and by their preachments taught them that in their daily contact with the Negro he must be made to know and feel that the will of the white man is law and if he did not bow in humble submission he must be made to submit by force and violence.

Outrage after outrage was committed against Negroes by the lawless without fear of the inconvenience of arrest or trial or the slightest danger of punishment.

Negroes were solemnly



ordered not to organize and maintain a branch of the N. A. A. C. P. for their protection and defense. Any effort of Negroes to assert their rights or vindicate them through the medium of the courts was denounced as trying to bring about "social equality" and its authors were marked for punishment by death, driving of them from their homes, or physical punishment of some kind.

A young woman of admitted character and standing was brutally beaten and humiliated by false arrest by white men; she sued and the proofs in her case that a prejudiced jury was forced to render her a verdict, but with the white man's sense of justice demonstrated in allowing her \$25 actual damages and \$1 punitive damages. Thus white men in Anderson are forewarned what it will cost to abuse, beat or otherwise outrage the most respectable Negro woman or girl.

Following this outrage three leading Negro citizens were driven from their homes on pain of death, and since then lawlessness against men and women of the race has increased until a general exodus from that city and county has begun. And now the viper turns and begins to strike itself. The lawless element beginning with violence against Negroes has passed the racial boundary and white men and women are now the victims of white criminals. The latest criminal outbreak is the assault by two "prominent" white men upon

two white girls. Their position was such that they were unable to blacken their faces and throw the crime on Negroes thereby causing a lynching, but have actually confessed their guilt.

They haven't been lynched nor has there been any talk of lynching "to preserve the honor and virtue of white womanhood." Will they be tried and electrocuted or will the case be smothered on account of the "prominence" of the parties?

Anderson had better clean up. The lawless against any race had better be driven out or jailed. White men who begin their criminal career against Negroes are not going to confine their criminal operations to that race. "Whatsoever ye sow that shall ye also reap." Lawlessness begets lawlessness.

### KNOXVILLE TENN SENTINEL MARCH 25, 1920 ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH TOWARD THE NEGRO RACE

The Atlanta Constitution publishes a timely and informing communication from Mr. John T. Hearn, founder and former editor and publisher of The Sentinel, and who is now a leading citizen of Bowden, Carroll county, Ga. Mr. Hearn says of "The Attitude of the South Toward the Negro":

It is not always an easy task to combat and correct false theories that have become imbedded in the minds of people by constant repetition. The impression prevailing in some sections of our country that the negro is systematically and universally mistreated by citizens of the southern states is one of the prevailing errors that it is the purpose of this article to disprove.

Chancellor Barrow, of the University of Georgia, referring to conditions of the negro race in Georgia, in a recent address, made this statement: "People of other sections and countries might deal with the negro theoretically. Georgia has the negro, not a theory—45 per cent of the population of the state belongs to the negro race."

To prove that the relations between the white people of the south and the negro population are humane, kind and generous, there are presented in this article incidents and examples showing the pleasant relations between the two races. These actual happenings show a condition, not a theory. They are records of every-day life found in local newspapers without any attempt at coloring or exaggeration.

As to protection of a negro criminal against the attempt of a mob to lynch

him, this writer can give personal experience. A negro was caught and put in jail in Carroll county charged with robbery and murder. A mob went to the jail and demanded that the negro be given to them. The sheriff refused and when the mob attempted to get into the jail the sheriff and a posse of citizens, who had been summoned to protect the prisoner fired into the mob, killing one man and wounding others. His put an end to the mob.

The purpose of this article is to show that while refusing to concede to the negro the right that he does not seek (the privilege of being regarded as an equal in social and political life), the south is the truest and best friend of the colored man.

Congressman Dudley M. Hughes, of Georgia, received in Washington a telegram telling of the sudden death of Lottie Goode, a colored woman who had been in his family for many years. When the family went to Washington, Lottie, who was then in bad health, asked if she should die, would her young mistress come to see her. "You know I will," was the answer. Although it was the Christmas season and a white house reception and other social functions were on hand, Miss Hughes traveled the thousand miles between Washington and her home in Georgia to redeem the promise made the faithful servant.

In Barnesville, Ga., there died Guilford McLendon, a faithful old negro, of whom Mr. E. A. Pounds, a prominent citizen of that section, wrote: "From the time I first toddled with infant feet across the floor until the day of his death I knew him and knowing him I learned to appreciate and admire him. For thirty years he lived in our family and through all these years that gracious, kind spirit irradiated that home and blessed every child of the home."

At Mobile, Ala., Judge Samuel B. Brown adjourned court out of respect to Henry Kinney, janitor of the courthouse for many years. Attorneys and officials of the courts stopped business to pay tribute to the faithful negro.

"Uncle Andy" Wallace, a negro porter for thirty years at the hardware store of B. Luttrell & Co., Knoxville, Tenn., fell dead in the store. The Knoxville Sentinel says of him: "About fifteen years ago his employers bought the house that Andy was living in and gave it to him for a home. He was loved and respected by all who knew him. He was true to every trust."

A touch incident occurred in Augusta, Ga. Two young men were in bathing when Archie Johnson, a young colored man, responding to the cries for help, gave his own life in the fruitless attempt to save them. Archie's grandfather, his sons and grandsons had been in the Bransford's family since the days of slavery. The bodies of the three young men, two white and one colored, were put in three caskets exactly alike and placed in the Bransford mansion side by side, where the funeral services were held. Mrs. Bransford had three marble monuments exactly alike except as to the lettering over the three graves.

At Milledgeville, Ga., "Jack" Brooks one of the best known colored men in the state, died yesterday, says a special to The Atlanta Constitution. He served his master through the civil war, a member of the governor's horse guards with Hon. Thomas Green, of Athens. In his declining years he was looked after by the family he had formerly served. He was carried to the grave by his white friends.

At Culloden, Ga., the whites and negroes came together at the white Methodist church to pay a last tribute of respect to an old ex-slave, Isham Brown. He had been sexton of the Methodist church for forty-five years and had always had the esteem and respect of the citizens of

the town. After funeral services talks were made by white and colored citizens and his body was buried near the graves of those he had loved and served during a long life.

Some instances of negroes who have acquired not merely a good living, but wealth, are presented here as samples of cases all over the south. From the survey press bureau we condense these facts: J. H. Blodgett, a southern negro, began 19 years ago to make a living on a capital of \$1.10 cash in his pocket. Today he owns 121 houses in Jacksonville, Fla., with a rental value of \$2,500 per month.

An Alabama negro writes: "When I was married, I borrowed the clothes I was married in. Now I have a farm of 220 acres and rent 40 acres more. I have a good house to live in and several houses for my tenants for my six-horse farm."

H. L. Windham, of the contracting firm of Windham Brothers, Birmingham, says that his firm built a \$100,000 apartment house for white people in Birmingham. His firm employs on an average 100 people, all negroes throughout the year to handle the \$300,000 worth of contracts.

New Albany, Ga., lived Deal Jackson, a negro farmer. He was born a slave—quoting The Albany Herald: "He owns two good plantations and his credit is good in any business establishment in Albany and his note negotiable in any of the local banks." For several years Deal Jackson marketed the first bale of cotton in Georgia, for which he received a big bonus, in addition to the market value of the cotton. After the death of Deal Jackson, that occurred a few years ago, Frank Thomas, a negro farmer who lives near Albany is now the first bale man. In that same county The Herald says: "There are numbers of thrifty, prosperous negro farmers and some of them own well-stocked farms and are getting rich, cultivating the lands of this favored region."

The environment of these industrious and worthy negroes was the same as that of thousands of others in the south. They are not molested in any way, but work out their problems of labor peaceably and unaided. It is only the vicious and the lawless who are made to realize that the way of the transgressor is hard.

These examples of the kindly relations between the white people of the south and the well-behaved negroes could probably be largely duplicated in every southern state. They are samples of the actual condition of affairs in the south.

The vicious negro and the law-breaking white man are of the abnormal type and the south should not be judged by the acts of either class.

**Says Negroes  
Must 'Disappear'**

Bel Air, Md., Harford County  
Great Race W. H. Harlan, Limited

**CALLS NEGRO MENIAL  
Whole Speech Characteristic  
Of Southern Cracker  
Attitude**

Bel Air, Md., Harford County  
July 15.—Nothing but unfavorable comment has been heard upon the speech of Judge W. H. Harlan, white, of the Third Judicial Circuit, who in an address before the

Maryland State Bar Association, recently, at Atlantic City, declared that the Negro and white races cannot get along together in the United States and that the Negro is bound to "disappear."

Several paragraphs of the Judge's speech were directed against the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution and the right of colored people to be citizens. Judge Harlan said,

"From the dawn of history the experience of mankind shows that it is impossible for two dissimilar races to occupy the same country at the same time on the terms of equality. Either they must amalgamate or one of the two must disappear."

**INTIMATES RACE WAR**  
He said amalgamation was impossible and that America would soon face the biggest crisis since the Revolutionary war, intimating a race war in America.

Without citing any figures to back up his statements and in sentences that sounded more like a Southern cracker than a Maryland judge, Harlan declared, that the social diseases were increasing among the Negro, that colored people are indifferent to the laws of health, will not work, will not save and insist on going to school instead of performing the menial duties for which only nature has fitted them.

**JUDGE HOWARD DISSENTED**  
Taking just the opposite stand from Judge Harlan, Judge Wesley O. Howard, white, of the Third New York Judicial Circuit, in an article in the September 12, 1919 issue of the AFRO-AMERICAN declared that intermarriage of the races was favored by nature, had been going on for ages, and was the only way to dispel prejudice and promote brotherhood. "Inter-marriage of races shocks society but society cannot master the law of nature which are inexorable immutable, inflexible and unconquerable."

More than 2,000,000 mulattos already in the United States, show to what extent Judge Harlan's race has already been mixing with the colored people against their will.

Pine Bluff, Ark., Feb. 21. Eighteen leaders of the Negro community here including two ministers, two school principals and a number of professional men, were named defendants to a suit filed by city officials seeking an injunction to prohibit the circulation in the county of a Negro newspaper on the ground that the paper tended to increased race feeling among the Negroes.

Chancellor J. M. Elliot immediately issued the temporary restraining order against the Negroes pending a hearing of the suit. Similar action last week against Negro newsdealers failed to stop circulation of the paper and the suit today followed.



# Race Problem - U.S. - 1920

## Negro and the South.

NEGRO PROBLEM IN SOUTH  
PUBLIC LEDGER

JULY 13, 1920

Member of Race sees solution in  
Public Opinion Enforcing  
Constitution

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—In view of the many suggestions that have been proposed as a remedy for the solution of the problem of the colored Americans, none has seemed to strike the right keynote. Most of the people seem to forget that the principles involved are of such vital importance that the court of American public opinion would manifest some interest in bringing about a proper solution.

The only solution, in my judgment, is to invoke the federal constitution relating thereto. It would be very desirable to have some concerted action or consensus of opinion. The problem of the constitutional right of the colored Americans in the South to participate in the functions of government will always be with us, until it is settled. This is the keynote to the problem. The people are sovereign and from them emanates the authority which creates and exercises the express and implied powers in a constitution.

It is potential, and the right to vote is an attribute of sovereignty and resides with the whole people as electors. Such being the fact, the powers inherent in government are derived from this source and have a determining effect. As a final recourse, its effect will be to enforce justice through the instrumentality of the ballot. Experience has shown that disfranchisement has proven itself to be destructive to the welfare and interest of the colored Americans residing in the South.

It has deprived them of that freedom of action and equality under the law which is so essential to their rights and liberties as free citizens under the constitution. The contention of the colored Americans is that the acts which have deprived the race of ballot rights are in violation of the constitution. It is an undue exercise of the powers of the states, upon which prohibitions are laid by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

In view of the conditions which exist, what, then, is the great court of American public opinion, which directs the government, state and federal, going to do to bring order out of chaos? Tested by every standard that can be applied, these Americans have been tried and not found wanting. Principles must govern, otherwise the mission of the republic will fail. The irresistible law of progress cannot be stopped, and is going to rule and govern the colored Americans in their judgment upon all questions of party politics. This race stands with face toward the rising sun, and has a thorough conception of its needs. This can be achieved by applying the constitutional safeguards so potent and necessary where power and consent are derived from the governed.

JOHN K. DOUGLASS,  
Jacksonville, Fla., July 9, 1920.

RACIAL FEELINGS

STIRRED BY SUIT

*No date*  
Society Woman and Prominent

## Colored Man Accused.

Raleigh, To-day.—North Carolina society has been shocked by a suit brought by Henry B. Varner, chairman of the State Prison Board, against R. Baxter McRary, of Lexington, grand master of the North Carolina Negro Masons, and perhaps the best known negro in the state, for \$100,000, charging alienation of Mrs. Varner's affections. Varner has also filed suit for absolute divorce.

Mrs. Varner is a southern woman and McRary is a former slave, who became owner of the property on which his white masters had lived, and has amassed a fortune.

While Varner was in New York a week ago McRary was seen entering the Varner home, it is alleged. When neighbors surrounded the house McRary was found and arrested. He was warned by Mayor Hedrick to leave the city, it is said.

Varner immediately attached McRary's property and filed suit. Mrs. Varner returned to her Kentucky home.

McRary has been prominent in social reform movements and is a brilliant public speaker.

Varner was recently elected president of the National Editorial Association. He is owner and editor of the Lexington "Dispatch" and was a candidate for Congress in the Seventh district. Mrs. Varner was prominent as a club woman and church worker. She and Mr. Varner were married twenty years ago.

## CRACKER JUDGE

### REJECTS MONEY

Tells Colored Minister He  
Won't Accept A Negro  
On A White Man's  
Bond

### PRECEDENT SET

No Such Action Ever Heard  
Of Before In The History  
Of Jurisprudence

Richmond, Va., Oct. 28.—Justice Crutchfield, white, violated all precedents in the history of jurisprudence, when he refused to accept the Rev. J. L. Leggans, pastor of the A. M. E. church, as bondsman for T. F. Holbrook, white, carpenter.

Holbrook was held for court as a fugitive from South Carolina, where he is wanted for non support.

When the case came before Crutchfield, Rev. Leggans was offered as bondsman by Holbrook's attorney, then it was that Crutchfield spoke up and refused to accept the minister declaring "I want it known right here that I won't accept a Negro on a white man's bond."

## How Would You Like to Live in Fearn Springs?

Fearn Springs, Miss., Nov. 19.—Members of the Race here are forbidden to read newspapers or magazines edited by their own people, and will be fined \$5 by the postmaster if they are caught with literature containing articles describing the advancement of the Race in educational and political lines. Every laborer here, it is claimed, is forced to subscribe to the local white weekly, which refers to members of the Race as "darky and coon." The paper is sent and whether they want it or not a fee of \$1 a month is charged them.

Preachers unless they do work in the cotton fields are not permitted to deliver sermons on Sunday, or engage in any other religious work. This ruling is made to keep itinerant preachers away from the community. People applying for a railroad ticket must fill out a blank, which must bear the signature of some white persons, who asserts he will be responsible for their return. This is done to keep labor here.

# DOES "MIGHT MAKE RIGHT?"

# NOT SO YOU CAN TELL IT!

*The Houston Chronicle* 19-10-20  
OF WRONG, both civilly and religiously.

Judging from the activities of certain organizations and individuals and the utterances of one local daily white newspaper, it seems that America is in for a protracted period of force and violence, in order to maintain "supremacy" and "superiority" for one group and undue oppression and repression for another group.

Read this excerpt from an editorial in the Houston Chronicle, one of the South's leading white daily newspapers:

"Whether at the North or South, the East or the West, this is a white man's country, and in any section where Negroes represent such a proportion of the population as to make it necessary, tactics will be pursued to insure white man's rule."

What America needs most imperatively is not "white supremacy" and "black suppression," but the crying need of this country is the SUPREMACY OF RIGHT and SUBJUGATION

was what prompted the above outburst from this local daily. The statement in that same editorial, which says that "they (colored citizens) are at liberty to vote in any general election, if they comply with regulations which affect all citizens alike," is a half-truth, and a half-truth is worse than no truth at all. There are towns and communities in Texas, even in this eighth congressional district, where colored citizens are not permitted to even vote in general elections, to say nothing of state and local elections, and any race man who advocates the franchise and right to vote for his race in these communities is violence and terror, and withal classed as an "agitator," "radical," "trouble-maker," "undesirable," "race riot fomentor" and "Tinkham of Massachusetts to introduce a bill in congress to reduce the South's congressional representation, due to the disfranchisement of colored citizens in Southern states, ities have any number of col-



ored citizens who can testify to the truthfulness of the above assertion; for many of them have experienced a taste of "might makes right" in the smaller towns and thus they were forced to seek the safety and protection of the larger cities.

Several such hard-boiled and constitution-defying communities are within a stone's throw of Houston and undoubtedly the Chronicle was ignorant of these facts when its virile and versatile editor was speaking his "sober mind" in the editorial under discussion.

To allay all fears and remove all suspicion, The Informer wishes to inform these unduly alarmed "supremes" and "superiors" that the sane, sensible and law-abiding colored American's chief desire is to be given equal and exact justice in all matters and to be regarded and treated as other American citizens.

He asks for no special privileges and seeks no undue honors.

Wouldn't this jar both your ancestors and posterity, taken from that same editorial?

"The South does not want to repeal the constitution of the United States, but merely asks the patience of the rest of the country while she works out what is universally admitted the most trying problem in American politics."

It is the most rotten species of buncombe, bosh and "bullshe-viki" to pronounce the colored man such a "problem" civilly and politically and then bestow the same rights denied the black man upon the ignorant and outlandish foreigners.

Especially is this true when it is borne in mind that the colored man is an American product and asset—he is pro-American—and well acquainted with American ideals and institutions; while the foreigner is partly or wholly unsuited, unacquainted and unfitted for the privileges thrust upon him and rights and prerogatives tendered him.

The colored American's years of involuntary servitude and years of untiring labor, sacrifice, devotion, loyalty and shedding of blood for this country,

both prior and subsequent to his emancipation, have truly earned for him and his the full measure of citizenship and he is not asking too much when he demands that America see to it that he and his enjoy the same rights and privileges as all other citizens of this great republic.

The moral forces are cosmic and therefore will ultimately win, for right is sure to triumph over wrong, despite the policy of "might makes right" as practiced by terrorists, bigots, autocrats and tyrants.

Force, violence and terrorism will fail signally, miserably and ignominiously to thwart or retard the onward march of the forces of righteousness; thus the colored man will eventually come into his own and be treated as other Americans because he is on the side of right and not because his face is black.

Napoleon Bonaparte, the mighty and intrepid Corsican, tried force and Waterloo wrote the closing chapter of his military career.

Rome, which was once the mistress of the world, was a powerful exponent of force and martial conquests, but today she is only a faint memory of the past and sleeps to wake no more.

Pharaoh resorted to force, intimidation and duress upon his Jewish captives, but the Red Sea wrote finis to his mad chase after the Hebrew fugitives and erstwhile slaves.

England endeavored to maintain a yoke of repression and oppression upon the American colonies, but the wars of 1776 and 1812 forever obliterated the reign and rule of John Bull in America.

Emperor William, proud protégé and haughty scion of the house of Hohenzollern, the greatest exponent and devotee of force and militarism in the annals of history, terrified civilization for over four years in a maddened and hysterical attempt to subjugate the civilized world, spurred on to ruthlessness and brutality by the slogan of "Germany above all."

Yet today "Kaiser Bill" is an exile and outcast and only the faint remnants of his once pow-

erful military machine and Hunnish autocratic empire remain, and he has lived to see one of his favored sons end his life by the same means employed by the former emperor to destroy civilization.

Does "might make right?" Go to the tombs of the heroes of the past, wake them from their placid slumber, inquire of them their opinion concerning this subject and from the sepulchres of the ages will come resounding this answer: "RIGHT MAKES MIGHT!"

The policy of "might makes right" (whether expressed or implied) reduces itself to the point of the survival of the fittest, and then we have riots, feuds, revolutions, insurrections, wars and rumors of wars, the stability of the government is jeopardized and menaced and civilization itself hangs in the balance.

If "taxation without representation" was "tyranny" in colonial days, how must it be regarded at this modern date?

Let the South "come clean," give the colored citizen a fair and square deal, accord him all his civil and political rights, remove all its undemocratic, un-American and un-Christian restrictions and barriers; then there will be no necessity for reduction of the South's representation nor the further execution of its program and policy of "might makes right."



# Race Problem - U.S. - 1920

## Negro and Politics.

### THE REAL PURPOSE AND POLICY OF THE SOUTH REVEALED.

In an editorial which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution under date of September, 21st, the purpose and policy of the South toward the Negro is clearly revealed. Under the caption, "Time To Help," the policy of the South is laid bare. We reproduce in another column the editorial in order that our many readers may judge for themselves as to the real aim and purpose of the South toward the Negro, expressed through the Constitution, its chief mouth piece.

"The most cherished birthright of the South is white supremacy. And that is the controlling force, irrespective of the usual party issues that makes the Democratic Party the hope of the South today, just as it was the salvation of the South in the late sixties, when the reconstruction battle had to be fought and won for the interest and purity and sacredness of the Southern home."

"White supremacy," says our esteemed contemporary, is "the most cherished birthright of the South." No matter what may be the ability and character of anybody else, there must be "White supremacy." It is not a question of merit, but a question of race and color. Here is where the unfairness and injustice of the South toward the Negro comes in. They utterly disregard the basic principles of popular representative government upon which the American Government rests. It ignores the principles that governments derive their just powers from the consent of all the governed, and that taxation without representation is unjust. The South pushes aside these two great fundamental principles as if they were scraps of paper.

The Negro in common with other citizens of the South pays taxes and is as much a part of government as any other class of citizens; and yet our esteemed contemporary, speaking for the South, would deny him the right to the ballot, the right to say who shall represent them in the making and executing the laws without their consent. All this must be done to maintain "White supremacy." "White supremacy" is not worth a cent unless it is based upon the eternal principles of fairness and justice.

The Constitution referred to what was done in the sixties or reconstruction times. It might with equal propriety refer to what they did to maintain four million human beings in slavery. They fought four long years contending that they were right in keeping men and women as chattel property. They claimed that they were right in doing that just as they claim that they are right in depriving the Negro of the ballot and participation in government for the purpose of maintaining "White supremacy." Is this fair? Is it right? The world knows that God Almighty did not give any one race all the character and ability—it can be found in black men as well as white men. And to contend that white men must rule merely because they are white is foolish and absurd—it is bigotry and conceit run mad without a scintilla of reason. It would be laughable if not so grave a matter.

The Constitution also brings out the fact that the sole issue of the southern wing of the so-called Democratic Party is to keep the Negro down, because that is what "White supremacy means—to give him no voice in government—tax him but not allow him to vote—to have no representation in the courts. In short, to be a ward of the Nation rather than a citizen. To ignore the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments as vital parts of the federal constitution, the fundamental law of the law. That is so plainly revealed by the Atlanta Constitution that there can be no room for doubt on the part of any sane and sensible man and woman.

The Independent has contended all along that that was the aim and purpose of the South, and the Constitution leaves no room for doubt in this article that the Independent was right.

In referring to the election of Senator Harding the Constitution has this to say: "That the election of Senator Harding to the presidency would

be peculiarly menacing to this great section south of the Potomac and east of the "Ohio." It bases this upon what was said by Senator Harding in an address at Marion, Ohio. We do not know what the Constitution had in mind except that he promised to treat colored citizens and give them the same consideration as he would any other class of citizens. In this the Constitution takes offense and sounds the alarm and cries. Help! Help with money! And then it refers to Henry Lincoln Johnson, our great leader. It refers to him as though he was some ignorant heathen born in the thickest jungles. Henry Lincoln Johnson is one of Georgia's ablest and best citizens—easily the match of any, whether white or black. The only charge that could be laid at his door is that he is a Negro. In every other respect, he is an American to the manner born and is able to hold any office or position in the gift of this nation. But the Constitution would brand him by reason of his race and color.

The bane of the South today is race prejudice and hate. It has put the South one hundred years behind other sections and it will never catch up until it is willing to give every man a square deal, irrespective of race, color or creed. It must learn as it had to learn when it clung to slavery, that prejudice and hate must go before it can ever come into its own and take its place with other progressive sections of this country. For God Almighty has given the Negro brain, ability and aspirations just as he has other races. And the progress he has made in spite of prejudice and hate ought to convince our white neighbor that there is no power on earth to keep him down and to withhold from him those great rights and privileges enjoyed by all other classes of American citizens. Those who are for him in this country are more than those against him. He has stood the acid test in this country and the majority of the American people will see to it that he receives every right and privilege, his enemies to the contrary notwithstanding. The hands of civilization move forward not backward. All other sections are according the Negro his civil and political rights and the South must do the same.

### WHAT SENATOR LEWIS SAID HE SAID

THE POLITICAL FIGHT is getting so hot the candidates and their supporters on both sides of the fence are going their limit to find ways and means of discrediting each other, and the most effective weapons the democrats have found for assailing Republican opponents is to charge them with being "Negro lovers," with advocating "social equality" and with fostering a movement for "Negro domination." Every sensible white man knows the Negro comprises but one-eighth of the population and could have but that proportion of voice in government if the unlawful restrictions that he now labors under were removed. It is evident, then, their purpose is to play on the American white man's pet peeve, the race question. That is why we have a wobbly north.

THE DAILY PRESS quotes J. Hamilton Lewis, Democratic candidate for governor of Illinois, as saying: "When I see my city preventing its white men from voting, I lay down the creed that this is a white man's government. So long as I have breath to speak I shall raise my voice to prevent criminal Negroes from lording it over Christian white men." Pretty raw statement to make right here in Chicago, where our vote in many instances is decisive. The handful of prejudiced whites he would gather by this "cracker" appeal he is more than welcome to. But Senator Lewis has driven from his camp hundreds who believed in him and would have given him their fullest support.

TO A DEFENDER REPORTER he gave the following statement when questioned as to the truth of the newspaper quotations: "I never said what was attributed to me. What I did say was, 'This is a white man's government, and as long as I have voice or power to protest I will never permit the criminal, lawless Negro to overrun the righteous, law-abiding Negro or drive the white man from the polls or prevent Christian citizenship, black or white, from having their rights under the law, at the ballot box or elsewhere.'"

HE SAID by "white man's country" he meant the whites were in the majority; therefore it was a white man's country. True they are in the majority, but why single out the Negro any more than the Jew, the Irish, the French, the Italian or any other group that are not component parts of this great "free" country? And what about the criminal white man? Why not make the shoe fit his foot? Is there any difference between a white and a black criminal save in color? It seems to be the purpose and intent of the Democratic administration to attempt to ride into office on the Negro's back. Illinois is not alone in this battle of Democratic race prejudice. Ohio and other northern states are being flooded with pamphlets preaching the doctrine of race hatred.

### Time To Help

The most cherished birthright of the south is white supremacy. And that is the controlling force irrespective of the usual party issues, that makes the democratic party the hope of the south today, just as it was the salvation of the south in the late sixties, when the reconstruction battle had to be fought and won for the interest and purity and sacredness of the southern home.

That the election of Senator Harding to the presidency would be particularly menacing to this great section south of the Potomac and east of the Ohio is strikingly illustrated by his address at a recent nationwide mass meeting of negroes at Marion, Ohio, and by the encouragement that Senator Moses' anticipated move for another force bill similar to that introduced by Henry Cabot Lodge in 1889, which passed the house at the time.

This matter is thoroughly brought out in a communication to the Constitution from Governor Brough, of Arkansas published elsewhere in this page.

With Henry Lincoln Johnson, an Atlanta negro, the high priest of the republican party not only in Georgia, but in the south, who will control southern patronage under a republican regime, and with the unfortunate encouragement that Senator Harding is giving to the negro publicists of the country to stimulate racial prejudices, it behooves the southern democrats to be on the alert.

It is not enough to assume that the south is democratic, anyway and let it go at that. It is essential, of course that a democratic administration shall be perpetuated, but it is imperative that if not both, at least one branch of the next congress shall have a safe working majority and that is extremely probable, should sufficient money be raised by the democrats to properly prosecute their campaign.

The following paragraph from The Toledo Pioneer, referred to in Governor Brough's communication is significant—

"We will have the moral support of our candidate for the presidency, Senator Warren G. Harding in his speech of acceptance at Marion, when he was notified of his nomination, he spoke out unqualifiedly in favor of the rights of colored people."

If there ever was a time in fifty years when the white men of the south should aid, in every practically way, the fight for a combination of democratic control in the nation, that time is now.

Help!

Help with money.

The Atlanta Constitution.



## A NEW PARTY ENTERS THE LISTS

On Dec. 11, 1919 there was held in St. Louis, Mo., what was known as a National Conference of the Committee of Forty-Eight. The purpose of that conference was to formulate and present to the American people a program of "political action that is honest, workable and fundamental." The Conference adopted a platform and made a statement of its aims and is now presenting them to the American people for discussion and crystallization, by the time the National Convention of the Committee, July 1.

In its platform the Committee of Forty-Eight takes a firm stand against color discrimination. After declaring for public ownership of transportation, public utilities and of the principal natural resources, its third plank reads:

"Equal economic, political and legal rights for all, irrespective of sex or color. The immediate and absolute restoration of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly and all civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution.".....

This attitude of the Committee of Forty-Eight should have a wholesome effect on the conscience of those who desire to see justice done to all classes in America. It should mean a ray of hope to that group of Americans who have long been denied the "civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

Both the major political parties of the nation have side-stepped, dodged and pussy-footed so long on the fundamental question of our group until all hope for relief from them is lost. A new entrant will at least add new interest.

### WEEK'S WORST EDITORIAL

Judge Welsey Blanton in the Tampa, Florida, Tribune

## "Why The Negro

### Must Be Disfranchised

"But the primary reason, is that no matter what advancement the Negro might make, he is by racial characteristics unsuited and unfitted to exercise political rights in the government of white men. The Negro being without a history, and having acquired little of the white man's ideas, is essentially without race pride. He has no distinctive aspirations. All happy prospects to him opens upon fields of white. In Heaven he expects to be a white angel. Our laws are unsuited to him—our language and literature more so. He thinks in white, and must of necessity do so until he can develop an ideal suited to his own race. White to his still typifies purity. He sings our sacred songs in his services, and I dare say sings, 'Make Me As White as the Wings of a Dove,' or 'Wash Me and Make Me as White as Snow.' His songs should rather be: 'Make Me as Black as the Wings of a Crow,' or 'Dye Me and make me as Black as Ebony.' His racial aspirations will never be wholesome, until he thinks he is black. His bible ought to teach him that he will become a black angel. He must learn to be

proud of his color. He must develop a literature of his own. One sometimes now sees white plays performed by Negroes in which such things occur as a Negro with a red-wig representing an Irishman. "As God is our creator, so is He the author of our race pride."

### THE NEGRO PROBLEM

We sometimes doubt if there would be a Negro problem if it were not for the eternal problems of politics in this country.

Since reconstruction, every means known to politicians has been tried to fan the flame of race prejudice, with the result that there has been a good deal of race friction, which, in other circumstances would not have formed an obstacle to the progress of the racial element which was brought to the country in slavery, as a result of the mistaken avarice and easy morals of armed nations capable of overriding the liberties of indifferently armed aborigines.

Nowadays the theory of the moral defensibility of slavery is as untenable as the theory of the divine right of kings, but there are millions of otherwise good Americans who look upon efforts, during political campaigns, to stir up race feeling as being defensible politics. As a result the race problem remains difficult.

The ministers who discussed the Negro problem in Kentucky Nov. 29,

by request of the Governor, dealt with the matter prayerfully. If the politicians were out of the way and the problem could be approached regularly in that spirit, by laymen as well as ministers, the two races would exist in contentment on American soil side by side, with out the Negroes being, to paraphrase Charles Lamb, altogether on the under side.—Frankfort, Ky., Journal.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

NOVEMBER 8, 1920

## DON'T STRESS RACE FRICTION.

Mr. Edward Morris, the colored member of the constitutional convention, will do the race to which he belongs more good by withdrawing his provision concerning racial equality than by securing its adoption.

The race problem in Illinois is in its infancy. A long course of study and experimentation must take place before the races of different color settle down to a frictionless contact.

Our problem comes from the large migration of colored people from southern states to the north, where they come into competition and contact with the resident white population. In the cities this contact is crowded and, in the present condition of home shortage, has proven exceedingly irritable, leading to numerous clashes and to terrible race riots. Lastly, by the mobilization of the newly arrived colored population into the ranks of one faction of the Republican party, this faction of the party became dominant, a dominance which was used by Senator Lewis as a campaign argument in the recent election, arousing a great deal of latent racial hostility.

The friction which has arisen since the migration of colored people from the south did not exist between the whites and the colored people who resided here formerly. We look hopefully toward the end of the present animosity, to the elimination of existing prejudices and social injustices. Such an end can only come with forbearance and conciliation. The demonstration of an aggressive spirit on the part of the new arrivals to force themselves upon the old population will arouse an active resentment which will result most detrimentally to them.



# "Jim Ham" Lewis Defiles the Temple of Representative Government; Adds Fuel to the Flame of Racial Strife and Utters Blasphemy Before Almighty God

## Democratic Candidate for Governor Using Back Before the Civil War Methods in Order to Arouse Voters

### Black Men Will Answer Him November 2

With cave man whiskers and cave man ethics, "Jim Ham" Lewis is ranting about the city of Chicago, belittling that this is a white man's country and a white man's government.

His term at Washington ended where he was mainly the chief rubber stamp, main lackey and insipid valet for Woodrow Wilson, he comes back to Illinois and is discredited by the avalanche of votes that said he should not again disgrace this sovereign state in the eyes of the world.

Stung to the quick by this great defeat in his efforts to return to Washington as senator from Illinois, "Jim Ham" and his "stone age" followers are now trying to get a hold on the chief seat of power at Springfield.

#### Tries to Array Women Against Negroes.

In his mad rush for Springfield, the bewhiskered "champeen" of Wilsonian democracy, has run into the foul mire of racial hate and antagonism; he has wilfully and wantonly arrayed class against class and with malice aforethought, he has set down the primitive principle that "Might Makes Right." To the white women of Illi-

nois he has said:

"Women, here is your opportunity. Will you now certify before the earth that on your first ballot you gave your approval to the only pollution our state has seen?"

"It is the will of the Almighty God, for you to lead the men when they become blind.

"When I see my city preventing its white men from voting, I lay down the creed that this is a white man's government—

"So long as I have the breath to speak I shall raise my voice to prevent criminal Negroes from lording it over Christian white men."

Criminal Negroes and Christian white men. God save the mark!

"My White Men"; Blasphemy Before God.

Not content with dragging out the skeletons of past racial discord in Chicago, "Jim Ham" invokes the sanction of the Almighty God in his fervor to prove that this is a "white man's country and a white man's government." Thus he shows how asinine and subservient he is and has been to the leaders of mobocracy in Mississippi and Alabama.

Since "J. Ham" has carried his plea "before God" we would like to ask just what does the Creator think of a "white man" more than any other man? Brazen conceit and ingrained self-inflation and racist assumption has blinded "Jim Ham" and his ilk to the fact that such ridiculous appeals fall nothing short of absolute, downright blasphemy.

The Great God of the Heavens cares naught for "the color of men" neither does He impute any dominion the one over the other because of such accidents of color. He does require that all men of any color or race whatsoever, do justly the one to the other, love mercy and walk humbly before Him. Somehow or other "Jim Ham" has suddenly become enamoured with "his white folk" for in his anathema against black folk he said:

"I want a just community here, but before God this is a white man's government. While I want no white man's government that will misgovern any Negro or any white man, I will have no criminal Negro misgovern my white men by crooked manipulation of the ballots."

The Democratic nominee trips himself in his own wool for what but "misgovernment" could follow his rule in the seat of power in Illinois?

#### A Negro Founded Chicago.

While "Jim Ham" and his leather-lunged yelpers are trying to bring the Mason and Dixon Line to Chicago it might be well for them to know that inasmuch as the city of Chicago was established by a black man, more and more will black men come here, more and more will they presume to partake and participate in government, and more and more will they resist to the last ditch any aggression on their rights and privileges as American citizens. The record of the great Negro pioneer who founded this great city follows:

The first recorded settler at the site of Chicago was Jean Baptiste Pointe du Saible, a black man from San Domingo. He built the house at the mouth of the Chicago River that was purchased in 1804 by John Kinzie, the first permanent settler. The house was enlarged by him and was the home of his family for a number of years. It is believed to have been erected by Pointe du Saible in 1779.

Add to this magnificent accomplishment by a black man in the arts of peace, the suffering, privation, labor and heroism of black men in all the wars of American and the bourbons of Illinois will tremble when again they dare to throw down the gauntlet of "criminal Negroes" to the best and bravest; the most Christian and the most American of any group of citizens in this country.

Black folk have no special desire nor do they at any time attempt to

sit in the seat of scornful white men in other than impersonal and non-social ways. They long for the progress of the general welfare without unnecessary strife and bitterness.

Progress is not essentially concerned with what race is at the top or what race is achieving the most, but it is very essential to progress that the top be high and that much be achieved.

In the scheme of representative government in Chicago and Illinois, black men will continue to play an important and ever increasing part, "Jim Ham" Lewis and his ravings, to the contrary notwithstanding.

#### POLITICAL MEASURES CONFERENCE URGES WHOLE AMERICANISM FOR AMERICAN POLITICS.

*Mustant Under*  
A Strong Race Gathering Advises Action.

*May 20 - 1920*

CHICAGO, Ill., April 26.—The National Colored Political Measures Conference called by the National Equal Rights League tonight closed sessions

extending over three days with a public meeting under the auspices of the Chicago branch in the Walters A. M. E. Zion Church, Rev. W. A. Blackwell, pastor. Delegate William Trotter told how the league got a representative over to the Paris Peace Conference among the National officers at the conference were the National President, N. S. Taylor, Esq.; who presided; Rev. J. G. Robinson of Philadelphia and William Monroe Trotter of Boston, Mass., National Executive Secretary.

The conference adopted a public declaration and an address to the country and decided to start a drive for legislation by this session of Congress which the entire race is asked to assist. The Secretary of the conference was S. L. Jones of Texas.

#### Address to the Country

The address to the country read as follows: To the American Public: Or the threshold of the first political campaign for election of president after a world-wide war this National Color-

ed Conference by the National Equal Rights League in Chicago, Illinois, bids all honest, patriotic Americans to stop, look and listen.

Be reminded three years after this country entered the World War and eighteen months after Germany surrendered that racial arrogance and antipathies brought about the terrible conflict. The Eastern hemisphere is still filled with wars and our own U. S. A. with more turmoil than since the war of secession. The unusual feature of this menacing situation is that the American element hitherto least prone to unrest has become generally discontented, the Colored American element who since 1863 has been the safeguard of the nation in peace and in war.

#### Paramount Issue

This obvious fact points to what should be a paramount issue with all worthy American political parties.

For Colored Americans are now restless solely because the Allies and America declared the war was being fought to give democracy to the underman everywhere, and yet they will stand in the unique American position of being denied the rights of Democracy even those specifically granted by the federal law.

The World War did not accomplish secure peace. No part of the world, not even the U. S. A. is safe from foes within or without. The world war taught that every nation needs its full man power in full efficiency, including

One tenth of the population cannot safely be denied the elementary justice of equality of public rights. Not even the U. S. A. can safely allow the federal government itself to give that tenth of the people who are most dependable as labor, or as soldiery direct cause for resentment.

#### Denials

Colored Americans are denied protection from the lawless mob without federal interference; denied the right of suffrage because of race, in federal elections without federal intervention.



subjected to exclusion, denial of serv- the right to vote without any color re-  
ice, or segregation for race in public striction; (c) congress now to enact  
places and facilities where the federal a law forbidding any separations of  
government has charge or jurisdiction. citizens for color in any work of the

For our common country to become federal government; (d) congress now  
tranquil, safe and truly strong, the to enact a law to forbid the separa-  
first imperative need is to see to it tion of interstate passengers for race  
that all American possess, in fact, or color. We urge all Colored Ameri-  
what the Founding declaration and cans to press this program upon their  
the National constitution vouchsafe. congressmen and to urge their friends  
Let our Republic first get right. to assist.

Fourteen million Americans, their For then shall we have in law and  
class consciousness aroused by the in fact Americanism inclusive of one  
sight of down-trodden humanity ob- hundred percent of the Americans.  
taining or fighting for liberty, of the Committee: W. S. Taylor, Chair-  
American people and government in- man, Illinois, Rev. J. G. Robinson,  
teresting themselves for the freeing of Penn., L. A. H. Caldwell, Indiana, S.  
the maltreated and repressed in other A. Beadle, Illinois; W. Monroe Trot-  
continents, are on the hunt for pro- ter, Mass.; J. D. Bibb, Illinois; S. L.  
tection, liberty, and equality under Jones, Texas; L. F. Baldwin, New  
the laws of the land for which they York.

have ever been ready to make the su-  
preme sacrifice. They include them-  
selves in the New Day.

### True Americanism

Back to the constitution enforced justice to which the colored Ameri-  
and carried out by federal legislation cans are being subjected namely,  
should be the slogan of every political lynching, mob violence, Jim Crow  
party if our Republic is to be saved. laks, technical disfranchisement, and  
We call to every national political or- wage slavery, we call upon and urge  
ganization and party to make true the delegates attending the National  
Americanism, the campaign slogan for Convention of Republicans, and appeal  
1920, American citizenship in full for to all other political parties conven-  
every person on her soil or naturaliz- tions to include in their platform dras-  
ed, American citizenship, whole, sa- tie laws against these patent injustices  
ered inviolate for every American citi- before mentioned.  
zen of whatever means, race or creed. We urge the party standard bearers

We urge parties and the federa to use personal influence for appro-  
congress to make the Nationalizing ol priate legislation and adequate en-  
Democracy a conspicuous issue. For forcement measure to make effective  
the time is now, after the whole world the above reforms. We appeal to the  
has been bathed in blood, between the colored people to observe closely the  
forces of autoeracy and of democracy, positions taken by the respective con-  
for our country to once and forever ventions and the attitudes of the polit-  
settle the only real issue and wipe off ical candidates. Finally we urge that  
the one great blot, race and color pro- these matters be brought to the direct  
scription. attention of Congress, and a drive  
made for legislation at this session, to  
the end that we may have a nation-

### Wanted

We want (a) congress now to en- alization of Democracy and true A-  
act a law making lynching a crime mericanism inclusive of one hundred  
against the federal government; (b) per cent of the American people.  
Congress now to enact a law enforcing

### The Public Declaration

The Declaration read as follows:

To the American People: Realizing  
keenly the economic and political in-



# Negroes Demand "Rights" As Promised By Senator Harding

*Winchester Ky News.*  
OCTOBER 15, 1920

By R. Z. WHARTON

Do the people of Winchester want a colored mayor or a city commission composed of negroes, or a board of education dominated by negroes, or negro representatives in the state legislature?

This question is not the result of some wild dream or night mare. It is the question, slightly modified, which is now being asked all over the south where, in many cases, the negroes outnumber the whites and are being led by republican politicians who promise to give them "complete equality."

Not since the days of the civil war has such a stir been caused throughout the nation. Negro agitators, encouraged by Senator Warren G. Harding, republican candidate for president and urged on by the paid leaders of their race, are preaching racial equality from the pulpit, the press and the stump.

Right in the midst of the far-famed blue grass, negro men and women are calling upon their people to force "social equality" of the races at the polls on November 2. The recent speech of Webb Banks' wife in Madison county is still ringing in the ears of white people all over the state. Her speech is merely typical of hundreds which are being delivered and hundreds more which are being published by the negro newspapers.

Read this from the Toledo Pioneer, a negro paper of wide circulation. Under a heading: "Race Must Unite at Polls," The Pioneer says:

"The Constitution recognizes the Colored man as the equal of the white man. He has been denied civil equality during all the years that have elapsed since the emancipation proclamation was issued by the Immortal Lincoln. These rights conferred upon the Colored man were written into the organic law of the country by the blood of 400,000 men brave and true. They have not only been denied him, but he has even been unable to secure redress in the courts of this state."

This gives but an idea of the wrong, but nevertheless firm attitude of the partisan negro leaders. But the matter becomes more serious when the same paper goes on to say:

"We have been a patient long suffering people, but our opportunity is present in the pending election. If the Colored voters men and women stand together in the coming November election we may be able to secure in this state the full fruition of the rights guaranteed us as a people under the Federal Constitution. Six members of our own race have been nominated as candidates for membership in the Ohio General Assembly, three in Cuyahoga county, two in Franklin county, one in Hamilton county."

"The Colored voter, man or woman, who votes against any one of these men will not only be disloyal to his own race, but a discredit to it, and why? For the reason that if these men are elected to the Legislature one of them can introduce a duplicate of the Beatty bill, passed in the House two years ago and defeated in the Senate, which, if it had been enacted into law would have prevented this unjust discrimination against the Colored people."

"Six men in a legislative body may hold the balance of power

and force the majority to come to terms. The Beatty bill had teeth in it, and the penalties which it would have imposed upon those who discriminated against Colored people seeking admission to hotels, theatres, places of public resort and amusement, ice cream parlors, bathhouses, barbershops, public libraries, hospitals, billiard and pool rooms, schools, colleges and universities, picture shows and oftentimes public conveyances on land or water, would soon have put a stop to this injustice to the Colored people."

"This civil recognition must come. It is a right conferred upon us by Constitutional law."

The editor of The Pioneer is correct in his statement of the law. But the law merely gives the negro the right to these privileges and it is not mandatory that white people shall "sit opposite negroes in ice cream parlors." Another section of the Constitution which gives the negro his "rights" provides a few "rights" for the white people among which is his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Women of Winchester, do you think your daughter, in pursuing happiness, would choose to sit beside a negro at the corner soda fountain? Or would she enjoy sitting in a movie with a colored man at her side? Heaven forbid! Yet, this very "right" is now demanded by the negro agitators and is promised by Senator Warren G. Harding, republican nominee for president. No so? You don't believe it? Then read again from The Pioneer:

"More than that, we will have the moral support of our candidate for the presidency, Senator Warren G. Harding. In his speech of acceptance at Marion when he was notified of his nomination, he spoke out unqualifiedly in favor of the rights of the Colored people. He said:

"I believe the Negro citizens of America should be guaranteed the full enjoyment of all their rights, that they have earned the full measure of citizenship bestowed, that their sacrifices in blood on the battlefields of the republic have entitled them to all freedom and opportunity, all of the sympathy and aid that the American spirit of fairness and justice demands."

"His words are an eloquent indorsement of the spirit and letter of the Beatty bill, the purpose of which was to insure to the Colored people their civil rights by imposing heavy penalties upon those who would deny them these rights. In other words, they would have the right to choose the hotel at which they might stop, the theatre which they might attend, or the place of amusement and recreation to which they might go, with no question asked and no insults offered. The Beatty bill provided penalties of \$100 to \$500 fine, and thirty to ninety days imprisonment, or both within the discretion of the court."

"The enactment of such a law by the Ohio General Assembly, and its rigid enforcement, would have the effect very soon of bringing the Colored people into the full enjoyment of all their rights, which Senator Harding says "the American spirit of fairness and justice demands." With six of our own race in the Legislature, backed as they would be by Governor Davis, and, with the moral influence of the incoming national administration

Race Problem - U.S. - 1920.  
Negro and Politics.



of Warren G. Harding, we do not see how we could fail to put over a measure similar to the Beatty bill."

Now, men and women of Clark county, you know who is looking to the negro voter for support. You know who promises to make it lawful for colored people to mix and mingle with your sons and daughters in public places. The majority must rule, but it seems to this writer that republican women, at least, should erase all sign of party lines and vote the straight white ticket."

We have nothing against the negro, so long as he enjoys his rights in his own way without attempting to force his presence where it is not wanted. And this is a free country.

#### MISSISSIPPI METHODS IN OHIO POLITICS.

No northern state in any national election has seen such methods as those used by the Democrats in Ohio during the campaign just over. They followed methods heretofore used only in Mississippi and other states of the darkest South. They issued several pamphlets in which the appeal was specifically and openly to race prejudice.

One of these pamphlets stood out bolder than the others. It was headed, "A TIMELY WARNING TO THE WHITE MEN AND WOMEN OF OHIO." It attacked Harry L. Davis, Republican candidate for Governor, on the ground of his friendliness to colored people. The first paragraph of the pamphlet read: "The men and women of Ohio should take heed of the menace confronting them and their children in the candidacy of former Mayor Harry L. Davis of Cleveland, for Governor of Ohio on the Republican ticket."

Under another heading, "THE THREAT OF NEGRO DOMINATION", the first paragraph read: "But yet another ominous cloud has arisen on the political horizon which should have the attention and consideration of all men and women before casting their ballots. That cloud is the threat of Negro domination in Ohio."

Under the heading, "FRIENDLINESS OF DAVIS TO NEGROES", an editorial from the Cleveland "Advocate" is reproduced which shows that under the administration of Mr. Davis as Mayor of Cleveland, colored men and women drew from the city treasury salaries aggregating \$350,000, and that twenty-seven colored men were appointed on the police force, as compared with six, the highest number appointed under any previous administration.

Other black type headings in this four-page pamphlet were:

#### THE THREAT OF NEGRO DOMINATION.

#### NEGROES ENCOURAGED TO DEMAND EQUALITY.

#### NEGRESSES DEMAND HALF OF OFFICES.

#### NEGROES FROM SOUTH INVADE OHIO—DEPRECIATION OF PROPERTY.

In reference to the demand for "social equality" on the part of the colored people of Ohio the pamphlet contained the following paragraph regarding the defeated Beatty civil rights bill:

"Even now, without the vicious provisions of the Beatty bill upon our statute books, we remind the men and women of Ohio that due to these politically inspired social aspirations stirred up among Negroes, suits for damages have just recently been filed in the courts of Clark county by Negresses against the proprietor of a motion picture theatre who refused to permit these Negresses to occupy seats reserved for white women."

But the most insidious feature of this vicious leaflet was the fac-simile reproduction of a clipping from an Ohio newspaper telling of an episode in which Mr. Davis was arrested in a restaurant in Columbus, but was released when he convinced the policeman that he was the Mayor of Cleveland. This episode was the ostensible but not the real purpose of reproducing the clipping. The episode about Mayor Davis was so clipped that there was included the article which directly followed it, headed, "GIRL ATTACKED BY NEGRO." This article began, "Grasped about the throat by a Negro as she was unlocking the door to her home, 37 East Broad Street (Columbus, Ohio, probably) last night, Miss Cora Linget

was dragged to the rear yard, where he threatened to assault her, she told officers \* \* \*." Here the article was cut short. Nothing to show whether the charge was true, exaggerated or false. Only enough to create the idea that Negroes were attacking white women in Ohio.

This pamphlet, which bore the imprint, "Issued by the Democratic State Executive Committee, Columbus, Ohio," ended with the following words:

#### "PROMPT ACTION BY WHITES NECESSARY.

"Ohioans should remember that the time has come when we must handle this problem in somewhat the same way as the South is handling it, and in such a way bring greater contentment to both whites and Negroes. We should remember what history tells us of the dark days when Negroes controlled the government in the South, the enormous expenditures and debts incurred, the indignities heaped upon white women and children, the vicious attempt of the South Carolina Negro legislature to give every Negro forty acres of land and a mule.

"Men and women of Ohio! Rally to the ballot box and give such a verdict as will forever rid Ohio of this menace to yourselves and your children."

As we said, this sort of thing is commonplace in Mississippi, and in Mississippi, from the white man's point of view, there is a shadow of excuse for it; because when the Negro in Mississippi learns what he is entitled to and really goes after it, he may not set up Negro domination but he will certainly sweep away and destroy the present system of white domination. In Ohio, however, these methods are absolutely without the least shadow of excuse or justification, measured even by the very lowest standards of politics or expediency. One needs go no farther than the population of Ohio, which in 1910 was, white 4,654,897; colored, 111,452.

Never before in any Northern state has any party dared or thought to spring race prejudice as a political issue with such brazen effrontery. What does this action in Ohio mean? It means that the Mississippi spirit is not content to work and remain in Mississippi: it follows us to Ohio; it follows us to every state from Maine to California; it followed us even to the battle fields of France. There are many communities outside of the South, especially in the big, busy cities of the North, where race prejudice, so far as it touches the rights of common citizenship, would become lost, would die out if it was not continually fostered and developed by those who consider it their business and religion to do so. The observation is often made that in such cities as Cleveland, Chicago and Boston race prejudice has greatly increased, and the reason is generally assigned to the migration of Negroes from the South to these centers. This is only partly true; it must also be remembered that white migration from the South to these same centers has been far greater than Negro migration.

And this white migration has been more than natural; it has been specific and systematic. The white South has made it a matter of business to see that its bright young men got on the influential newspapers of the North, into politics in Northern states and other places from which Southern influence could be spread. If we do not fight this spirit to a finish, it will make a Mississippi of every state in the Union.



# Race Problem—U.S.—1920

## Negro and Radicalism

### NEGRO "SEDITION"

*The Survey 1-24-20*  
**JAMES WELDON JOHNSON**, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a recent editorial in the New York Age, a Negro publication, draws attention to a document which he considers does injustice to his race. At the end of a report of its investigations "against" (the word is theirs) "persons advising anarchy, sedition, and the forcible overthrow of the government," submitted in November to the Senate, the Department of Justice prints an exhibit of twenty-seven pages on "radicalism and sedition among the Negroes as reflected in their publications." This exhibit has no counterpart in any separate mention of the anarchy and forcible overthrow of the government displayed in cases where Negroes are not the perpetrators but the victims of that anarchy and overthrow, or in the newspapers which incite to lynchings. Indeed, the report, in spite of its comprehensive title, makes no mention of that particular phase of defiance of authority. As for the exhibit itself, it contains the charge that

the more radical Negro publications have been quick to avail themselves of the situation [of race riots] as cause for the utterance of inflammatory sentiment—utterances which in some cases have reached the limit of open defiance and a counsel of retaliation. . . . There can no longer be any question of a well-concerted movement among a certain class of Negro leaders of thought and action to constitute themselves a determined and persistent source of a radical opposition to the government, and to the established rule of law and order.

In further amplification, five "salient" points in the present attitude of the Negro leaders are mentioned: Ill-governed reaction toward race rioting; threat of retaliatory measures in connection with lynching; openly expressed demand for social equality; identification with radical organizations, such as the I. W. W.; political opposition to the present administration. Underlying these symptoms is an "increasingly emphasized feeling of a race consciousness." Particular exception is taken to "the note of pride that the Negro has found himself, that he has 'fought back,' that never again will he tamely submit to violence or intimidation"; and to the "increasingly bitter expression of the sense of oppression." The whole of the Negro press is included in this charge; for, "the number of restrained and conservative publications is relatively negligible, and even some of these have indulged in most intemperate utterance." Not one of the magazines is among the papers that "maintain an attitude of well-balanced sanity." These general charges are illustrated by a wealth of quotations. Here is a typical illustration of the bolshevism which some of them preach:

Bolshevism has made Russia safe for the Jews. It has liberated the Slav peasant from priest and bureaucrat who can no longer egg him on to murder Jews to bolster up their rotten institutions. It might make these United States safe for the Negro. . . . If the Russian idea should take hold of the white masses of the western world, and they should rise in united strength and overthrow their imperial capitalist government, then the black toilers would automatically be free! Will their leaders educate them now to make good use of their advantages eventually?

If there is incitement in these lines, it is clearly addressed to white and not to colored labor. Such sentences are frequent as "Let every Negro all over the world prepare for the new emancipation"; "What the Negro needs to know is that in many qualities he is the superior of the white man"; and frequent variations on the theme: "Self-preservation

is the first law of human nature." The Messenger is held up, among other things, for speaking kindly of the Civil Liberties Bureau and of Roger N. Baldwin. The Crisis (organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) "has had nothing of a radical nature since July," but is nevertheless quoted, from an earlier issue, as editorially in a fighting mood: "We return from fighting. We return fighting." If the quotations given are at all typical—and Mr. Johnson does not deny this—they are evidence of a real increase of race consciousness and pugnacity, often somewhat crudely expressed in the manner of labor publications. The curiosity of the collection, as Mr. Johnson points out, is that in essence the demand they voice is for law enforcement rather than law evasion; and the threats are against law-breakers and those who uphold them rather than against ordered government. Occasionally, however, there are glimpses also of race rebellion without discrimination as between oppressors and protectors in the dominant race.

## PALMER DELAYS SEDITION ACTION

Fails to Appear at House Hearing to Testify in Proposed Measures.

GOMPERS ASSAILS BILLS  
NEW YORK CITY HERALD  
JANUARY 23, 1920  
Labor Leader Declares Rights of Every Individual Would Be Infringed.

(Special Despatch to the Herald.)  
WASHINGTON, D. C., Thursday.—The prospects for early action in Congress upon legislation to punish sedition were materially diminished today as the result of developments attending the hearing upon that legislation before the House Committee on Rules.

A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, who originally recommended the legislation for the purpose of giving the Department of Justice authority said to be lacking to handle the situation, failed to appear at the hearing to defend the bill. For this he was severely criticised by several Republican members of the committee.

Mr. Palmer excused his non-appearance by sending a letter to Representative Campbell, chairman of the Rules Committee, in which he said "Public business of pressing importance" made it impossible to be present. In the same letter he opposed both the Sterling bill, which has been passed by the Senate, and the Graham bill, which has been reported to the House, and which chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Representative Vol-

stead, Republican, of Minnesota, seeks to have expedited by a special rule for its consideration. Mr. Palmer said both bills were too drastic, and recommended the passage of a bill which he prepared and which was introduced by Representative Davey, Democrat, of Ohio.

### Gompers Attacks Bill.

Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, occupied most of the time at the hearing today in launching a renewed attack upon all proposed legislation to punish sedition.

He said that neither the Sterling bill, the Graham bill and the Department bill nor any other legislation to punish sedition should be enacted; that section four of the Penal Code provided all the authority needed to deal with the situation; that all legislation thus far proposed would prevent lawful strikes, impose "involuntary servitude" upon labor, that courts would misuse and misinterpret the language of the proposed law, that radicalism would be increased, rather than diminished by its provisions, and that "America is too pure an ideal to be defiled by such a species of legislation."

Other witnesses who appeared in opposition to the bill were Professor Zachariah Chafee, of the Harvard University Law School; William McDonald, editor of the Nation, of New York; Edward W. Evans, of Philadelphia, representing the Society of Friends; S. P. Weston, of Seattle, representing the American Newspaper Publishers' Association; H. A. Davis, of Boston, and James W. Johnson, colored, in behalf of the colored race.

### Will Seek Palmer Testimony.

The failure of Attorney General Palmer to appear was a great surprise to all members of the committee, and at the close of today's session the committee discussed the advisability of trying to have Mr. Palmer's testimony before the hearings close.

The Davey bill referred to is far less sweeping in its provisions than either the Sterling or Graham bills, but incorporates the same language to which much of the criticism of Mr. Gompers was directed today.

It is the provision which uses the phrase "force or violence" in defining attempts to overthrow or change our form of government to which Mr. Gompers objects, among other things.

"There is more than one kind of 'force,'" said Mr. Gompers, "and this language is undoubtedly sound and proper, but has capable of being construed by the courts as a reference to 'moral' as well as to physical force. A strike is an effort to make loyal Americans enraged and in-

organized workers to use moral force to better their condition, but under this bill this could be construed as a violation of its provisions."

"If there is any doubt about the intention of this bill it can be found," interpolated Representative Volstead, of Minnesota. "It is not the intention to write a bill that would make anybody liable to punishment without the use of physical force or violence."

### Gompers Frankly Skeptical.

"I have had considerable experience with 'assurances' of this character," commented Mr. Gompers. "and there has not been an instance where they have not been reversed by the courts. There is not an avenue which any group of men or women might take to better their condition that would not come under the provisions of this bill, which might better be called 'a bill to enforce compulsory involuntary servitude.'"

"Is there anything in this bill applying to labor that would not apply with equal force to other people?" asked Representative Snell.

"It ought not to be made to apply to anybody," said Mr. Gompers. "And right here I want to say that neither I nor the A. F. of L. has any sympathy with the activities of those termed 'Reds.' We have done our level best in opposing their doctrines."

"The standpatters, reactionaries and fools in Congress may hate me, but none of them hate me so thoroughly as do the Reds."

"To whom do you refer when you speak of fools and reactionaries?" asked Representative Campbell.

### Refuses to Name Attackers.

"I would be accused of lese majeste if I mentioned their names," answered Mr. Gompers, "but I have been attacked in both branches. Men in Congress may utter lies and slander and yet be safe from punishment."

Mr. Gompers warned the committee, "the beginning of decay in the old Roman republic began with the suppression of the right of free assembly." He appealed to them to uphold the constitutional right of free speech, and said this guarantee was intended not to allow men to praise government but "to say the ugly things."

"That provision in the constitution is the safety valve of every government," he said. "It recognizes the right to find fault, to criticize, to let men air themselves."

"This legislation makes the Postmaster General the 'Paul Pry' of the nation and is worse than the war powers of the espionage act."

"I am told that the Department of Justice now has a census of about 60,000 persons who are plotting to overthrow the government by force and violence," interrupted Representative Pou, Democrat, of North Carolina, "and that there is no way to reach them."

"They can be reached under section Four of the Penal Code," replied Mr. Gompers.

"I understand your position to be, then, that you are opposed to any additional legislation, whether the Department of Justice says it is necessary or not," asked Representative Snell.

"Yes," replied Mr. Gompers, "I have reason to know that much of this agitation is due to hysteria and nothing else."

Representative Davey, of Ohio, who introduced Attorney General Palmer's original bill, later made the following statement:

"After careful analysis of the Graham bill, it is my judgment that it goes too far. The purpose of the Graham bill is undoubtedly sound and proper, but has overshoot the mark. There certainly is ample reason to make loyal Americans enraged and in-



tolerant toward these red handed and wild-eyed enemies of our country who seek to destroy it. Nevertheless we must not go beyond the limits of reason and necessity, even in meeting a critical problem of this kind."

## PROBLEM OF NEGRO

### HAS MOVED NORTH

MAZON GA TELEGRAPH  
SEPTEMBER 5, 1920

That Section Is in For Bad Spell of Race Trouble, Says Owen.

PASTOR DISCUSSES SITUATION

Will Preach Today On Conditions Existing in Big Eastern Cities.

"The North is in for a bad spell with the negro problem," Dr. William Russell Owen, pastor of the First Baptist Church, declared yesterday upon his return to Macon after a visit of a month to the North Carolina mountains and to Eastern cities. Dr. Owen declared that negroes have taken possession of some of the strips of the beach at Atlantic City, and that the North is losing its feeling of protection over the negro and has come to regard him with a growing hatred.

Dr. Owen speaks twice at his church on Sunday. Sunday night he will preach on the "Remedy for the Menacing Negro and Liquor Problems of the North." Speaking of his recent trip, Dr. Owen said yesterday: "The type of people I saw at Atlantic City greatly interested me this year. Fifteen years ago when I first visited this great sea resort the well-to-do class and the prosperous foreign populations of the near by cities filled the hotels of all descriptions. Now the wealthy were not so much in preponderance as I had observed before. The great stream of the middle class had possession this year. Several good reasons account for it. First, the liquor question is nearly solved in the North, more so, by the way, than in the South. Men who for years had never been able to spare a single sober hour from work were this year at the beach with the whole family living with refreshing respectability. Another reason is high wages on railroads. The railroad employee was there by the hundreds amused and interested to have enough money to take a week off with the family. And perhaps the chief reason why the so-called prosperous class were not so much in evidence lies in the acute housing conditions in the big cities. Wealthy renters were afraid to leave home lest their houses be rented in their absence by the rent profiteers.

Sees Flaming Race Hatred.

"The North is in for a bad spell with the negro problem. I found on this trip more growing hatred between the races in the North than one ever discovers here in the South. Negro cooks and maids in some cases are making as much as \$25 a week. There is a growing intermarriage between the whites and blacks and a flaming race hatred. The whites are losing the tolerant spirit that looked upon the blacks as the wards of the Northern States to be protected. Now the question is the old question, as old as Moses, of racial antipathy. Negroes at Atlantic City now have several sections of the most prominent parts of the beach for their own possession."

Sunday morning the Lord's Supper will be observed and the sermon subject will be, "Beyond the Highest Peak."

## Socialist Party To Stand Firm

Will Keep Plank Guaranteeing Racial Equality

To Negroes

NOT SENTIMENT

New York Call Declares All Workers Must Unite Or Remain Wage Slaves

New York City, June 30.—In one of the most striking editorials of the year, the New York Call yesterday, speaking for the Socialist Party, declared that Socialists will keep the plank guaranteeing racial equality for Negroes.

The editorial is a reply to a Pittsburg reader who announced that no self-respecting white man can vote a Socialist ticket with the clause in the platform favoring equal civil and political rights for the Negro. The writer said he expressed not only his own opinion but the opinion of every white man that respects his race.

By way of reply the Call said, "Our correspondent is in part mistaken. There are hundreds of thousands of white workers, self-respecting too, who would refuse to vote a Socialist ticket if the party did not take a stand for race equality."

"Disposition is taken not because of any maudlin sentiment but for the reason that intelligent workers must cooperate for their common emancipation or both will remain wage slaves."

The black workers are as essential to the white workers as the whites are to the blacks. In the class struggle there is no color line. The capitalist class will use white workers to break a strike of black workers as quickly as they will use blacks to break a white strike. The exploiters will use aliens to break a strike of the native born as quickly as they will use the native born to break a strike of aliens. The exploiting class permit no color, racial or national distinctions to interfere with their material interests. Why should you do what your exploiters will not do?

Even in the South, where the color prejudice is greatest, the white workers are slowly beginning to appreciate the necessity of black and white solidarity against an exploiting class that robs both whites and blacks without distinction. Some months ago a strike of dockers in a Southern port included both whites and blacks. The white masters offered to settle with the white workers, but not with the Negroes. To their credit, be it said, the whites refused this compromise and fought for their black brothers and won the strike for both.

If our correspondent will make a thorough study of the South he will find that thousands of white workers are disfranchised alongside of the blacks. If the white masters believed that the sole

question in the South was one of color, how account for this exclusion of white workers from the ballot box? He will also find that throughout vast regions of the South the standard of living of hundreds of thousands of whites does not differ from the standard of the exploited blacks. Economically both are on the same level. It is the material interest of both to win economic and political freedom and civil rights for both.

## DETAINED AS A RADICAL RED FOR WANTING A SHAVE

Monroe Trotter Taken From Barber Shop At Decatur By White And Colored Policemen. Told He Was Inciting Riot. Asking Shave In Place Run For White Men.

Special to The Argus:  
DECATUR, Ill., June 27. — When editor Wm. Monroe Trotter, a stranger visiting Decatur to speak at the M. E. Church, and badly needing a shave, walked into a shop and was refused, he took the chair and contended for service. Finally the barber went out the second time for the police. The other barber refused and threatened, but Trotter gave him an equal rights talk and waited for the other barber. Instead, in came a Colored and a white policeman in plain clothes.

Trotter expected aid from the Colored officer, but in vain. He said it was a "white" shop. They refused to make the barbers give their addresses and the white officer tried to bully Trotter, forcing him out and saying, "That's the trouble in Chicago, Negroes like you, and we are near enough to a riot here." He threatened and Trotter refused to cower and wanted his name or number. He glared and ordered Trotter into the auto and took him to the police station, before the chief of police. There the chief and four white officers tried to show Trotter he should not want service where white folks objected and Trotter rebutted and preached equal rights and was getting the best of the argument when the Colored policeman declared Trotter was wrong and Colored folks there did not ask to eat, drink, etc., where white folks did, and ought not to do so where custom was against it, even though they had the legal right, etc.

When Trotter characterized him as a Colored man against rights for his race, this officer, Kemp, began to curse and swear and berate Trotter.

He was ruled out of the discussion. Trotter held to the point that he was

or law in seeking the law for his rights. The police held he was a radical seeking to get up a riot, and because he wanted his right to a shave. The white men finally gave up the argument and the bully ordered Trotter to leave.

## Want Revolution At any cost

Bolsheviks Depending Upon Colored People To Help Them Overturn U. S.

RUSSIAN HERE

Said To Be Well Provided With Money And Propaganda For This Purpose

Chicago, Ill., June 26.—The Russian Bolshevik is here.

He is travelling on a stolen American passport which disappeared while in Moscow, or on a seaman's ticket.

He is well provided with a large stock of diamonds, which he will convert into money, and use to spread bolshevism among the twelve millions of Negroes in the United States.

Authority for these statements is the Paris Correspondent of the Tribune, who cables that the Russians are using every possible lever to overturn the governments of the western world, and bring them socially to the condition of Russia.

The American government is shot by the Russians to be the most violent now in existence, and they hope to bring about bolshevism here by violence. Industrial unrest is preliminary to revolution so that this Russian agent together with many others is encouraging strikes, hoping to make a democratic government impossible.

Since colored people want racial equality and are dissatisfied with present conditions, he is instructed to swing in line with the "black crusade," aiding with propaganda and small financial contributions.

The Russian sent to do work among colored people is named Malkin, and is said to be one of the many who have escaped the government agents at Ellis Island and slipped into the U. S.

NEW YORK CITY GLOBE

AUGUST 10, 1920

Radical Negro Orators.

Editor Globe:—I am glad to see through the Negro section of Harlem and out of curiosity I have stopped to listen to one or two colored speakers who nightly address huge audiences of their fellows on various topics. It has been a revelation to me.

As a loyal American who loves his

country I am worried. Little does the average complacent American realize how radical our black fellow-citizens are becoming. There are three principal speakers and their every argument (and they are forceful speakers) is socialistic. They represent three wings. One speaker, a man of much learning, gives talks on Africa and Negro sociology which seek to prove that African culture is superior to European culture because it (African culture) is communistic.

Another speaker, who personifies organized Negro revolt against alleged political perfidy on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties, represents the Liberty party, recently referred to in your columns. The burden of his talk is to quote Horace Greeley to support his contention that Lincoln was not actuated by unselfish political or humanitarian motives when he signed the emancipation proclamation.

The third speaker is a full-fledged Socialist. He is an able man, of obviously good education and an agitator possessed of much eloquence and vigor of argument. To my mind he is the greatest menace of the three, as his programme is neither one of passivity nor negation. He says that the only group that is genuinely opposed to Wilson is the Socialist party and the I. W. W., and advises his people to make alliances with the enemies of the enemies of his race.

WILLARD T. HOLMES.

New York, Aug. 2.  
N Y C CALL

DECEMBER 12, 1920

## RADICAL ACTIVITIES ARE CARD INDEXED, SAYS PALMER REPORT

Elaborate System Said to Contain 200,000 Cards Bearing Data.

WASHINGTON, December 11. — A card index system, containing more than 200,000 cards, giving data on the activities of radicals and their organizations, was disclosed by Attorney General Palmer in his annual report to Congress as part of the government's fight on radicalism. This card index system also is a library of reference on the radical movement.

Palmer's report also contained details of other activities of the Department of Justice.

The results of the January raids on the Communist and Communist Labor party meetings, Palmer said in his report, caused a "marked temporary cessation" in radical activities here.

Ninety per cent of the Anarchist and Communist agitation in this country during the last year, the report says, is traceable to aliens. Racial prejudice, as well as economic evils, Palmer charges, is used to stir up dissension. Negroes especially, the report says, have been "appealed to directly to support a movement to overthrow the government of the United States."

The spread of radicalism in the United States, the report continues, has been largely due to the "ultra-radical" foreign language press. Twenty-six or more foreign language newspapers in the country have aided in spreading radical propaganda, it says.



# Race Problem - U.S. - 1920. Negro and Radicalism.

LIMA O DEMOCRAT  
JANUARY 7, 1920

## THE NEGRO AND BOLSHEVISM

HERE IS A definite movement afoot, backed by an ample supply of money and some brains, to enlist the sympathy of the American negro in the Bolshevik movement.

Thus far the effort has been without success. There are many reasons for believing that no well-meaning member of this race will join forces with this foreign foe. The negro is a patriot. He is moved by the same impulses as his white brother. He loves his home and his country, and he is as willing to shoulder the gun and go out to fight for the nation as any one else. The history of American troops in Europe is filled with most complimentary notices of the activities of the negro troops.

To promote the manifest desire of the radical to enthrall the American negro with Bolshevism, information as utterly untrue as it is absurd, has been handed around and thrust under doors of negro homes. The purpose, of course, is to stir up enmity against the white race. To promote, if possible, a racial war in the United States. To effect a revolutionary spirit here that would result in all manner of civil strife and confusion.

We rather suspect the plans will come to naught. There may be those among the negro race, who like those of the white race, are dissatisfied and disgruntled; who want to see some changes in the social system of the country; who need a broader education to fit them for the larger responsibilities. But a moment's reflection will convince anyone thus inclined that carnage and revolt do not bring the desired results. Bolshevism should make no real appeal to the negro in America.

PETERSBURG VA INDEX APPEAL  
JANUARY 6, 1920

## THE NEGRO IS LOYAL

We have not been very greatly impressed by stories of the activities of bolshevik, and communist propagandists among the negroes of the south. We do not question that these agents have been at work among the negroes, but there is small danger of their being able to obtain a following. The negro in many instances is very ignorant and even where this is not the case he is easily led. Slick strangers very frequently are able to win the sympathetic attention of negroes and induce them to give up good money. But the negro is loyal to the United States. If disloyal it is not by intention. He believes in the United States government, probably his devotion is more or less traditional. It was the United States government that freed the negro, and to the "old issue" negroes "U. S. A." meant to all intents and purposes omnipotence, as well as the highest conception of beneficence. Propagandists in the cause of anarchy or revolution will not get far working upon our southern negroes. We do not attempt to speak for the negroes of the north. But if they are different white men have made them so.

N Y C CALL  
DECEMBER 12, 1920

## EFFORTS IN NEGRO SECTION REPAID

About six months before the recent elections, although independent of the fact that elections were to be held, the Central and Executive Committees of the New York County organization of the Socialist party made plans for a campaign among the Negro workers of the county, many of whom live in the 21st Assembly district. An appropriation for the work, although the organization was seriously handicapped by lack of funds at the time, was made.

All that was planned to do was not done. The special elections, which required the concentration of Socialist energies in six Assembly districts, and the subsequent regular campaign, in which the local Socialist organization was obliged not only to finance its own campaign but to help the state and national organizations finance the campaign, consuming all the attention and effort that the local Socialists could rally, diverted much of the attention that it was intended to devote to propaganda and organization work among the Negroes of the county.

Despite the failure to do what was hoped might be done, the Negro section is one of a very few sections in the city that have succeeded in making a substantial increase in the vote over that cast last year. It is reported that the increase of the Socialist vote in the 21st Assembly district will reach 200 per cent. The Socialist vote in the entire city, had it shown a corresponding increase, would have made it over a quarter of a million.

Considering the little amount of work and effort put in, the showing in the Negro vote is most encouraging. The extra time and money given to it has brought returns that a similar amount of time and money expended along other lines or in other sections could not have yielded.

It is not surprising that the Negro worker responds to the Socialist message when it is delivered to him, as he can and ought to understand it. Besides being a victim of economic and industrial inequalities, in common with his fellow worker of another color, he is the victim also of racial inequalities, largely the outgrowth of economic conditions. The unbearable social conditions imposed by capitalism are doubly unbearable to the Negro.

The day in which the Negro deluded himself with the belief that the Republican party will work out his salvation, even racially, is gone, at least in the minds of those Negroes who have given a second thought to the subject. The Republican party has broken into the hitherto solid South, and to retain and promote its position there that party will even discard the pretense of solicitude for the Negro.

The Democratic party never even pretended to care.

Thousands of Negroes in this city, and hundreds of thousands of Negroes throughout the nation, are undoubtedly ready to listen to the Socialist message. That message must not be a request for their vote, for they must first see the fundamental truths of Socialism before they can realize that Socialism and the Socialist party alone offer the solution for their, as well as the world, problems.

In this connection the People's Educational Forum, which meets every Sunday afternoon at Lafayette Hall, 165 West 131st street, is doing most valuable work. This afternoon Ida Crouch Hazlett, new member in the audience means a convert, sooner or later, to Socialism, for the economic interpretation of lynching is the interpretation the Negro will understand and appreciate.

We hope that the good work among the Negroes in this city will be continued and expanded. There is room for expansion.

## OWEN TALKS ON NEGRO PROBLEM

War Conditions Have Shifted Part of Responsibility to North.

MAVON CA TELEGRAPH  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1920

## DRY LAW BRINGS NEW PHASE

Prohibition and the negro question have presented a problem to the churches of America which must be met "with a new note of certainty of conviction that the old, old story of sin and salvation, of repentance and a change of heart, of helpless man seeking the redeeming Christ of the unshaken cross," is the so-mathematical exactness required in the manufacture of war rifles and shells. The First Baptist Church, declared last

read frequently like this, 'Last week thirty Southern negroes were dismissed from the town factory for inefficiency.' Like rats swarming to the rubbish piles of the big cities' slums, these friendless, penniless, homesick Southern negroes found their way. Now the shortage in labor of all kinds finds these negroes sober and making wages by which they defy the cheap white laborers and demand equal rights in every social scale.

## Soup and Soap, Is Slogan.

"Prohibition has cleaned up the tenderloin of the big cities. The slums of Philadelphia, according to the mission workers, are now sober and quiet and law abiding, but restless with a taste of large wages and full dinner pails. Philadelphia has a negro population of 200,000, a negro population as large as Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, Augusta and Columbus combined.

"These two problems in many cases find the churches of the North confronted by streets full of sober men brought about by prohibition but unfriendly to the church because for the last ten years the churches have been preaching a gospel of feeding the stomach and forgetting the soul. 'Soup and soap' has been the slogan to regenerate society and now that prohibition has relieved the need for both, because the down and out have money, enough for soup and soap, it becomes the task of the churches that have failed to keep the fear of God as the beginning of wisdom in the first place, to sound a new note of certainty of its conviction that the old, old story of sin and salvation, of repentance and exchange of heart, of helpless man seeking the redeeming Christ of the unshaken cross, and to sound it with the blast of a trumpet, clear, clarion, unmingled, thrilling, rousing, challenging, powerful, with the authority of the shout of the Eternal Voice of God; that is the solution of the confusion, the unrest, the uncertainties that threaten the Northern cities, especially, when social upheavals not to hint at social revolutions.

"The South has kept its balance by its churches, white and black, welcoming an authoritative note, unafraid, unapologetic. The Southern churches of all denominations have kept their high notes clear above the crowd's companions. They have thrust Jesus—living—in opinion; into the social problems of their time, and He has triumphed.

## ADVISED REDS TO RECRUIT NEGROES

N. Y. C. MAIL  
NOVEMBER 26, 1920  
Reed Told Internationale of Opportunity Here.

Washington, To-day.—Union of the American negroes with the radical elements of all nations to further the cause of world sovietism was urged before the Moscow meeting of the Communist International, at which both Lenin and Trotsky spoke, by the late American radical and magazine writer John Reed, according to the text of his speech received here in official dispatches from Russia.

Describing the position of the negro in the United States, especially in the southern states, as "terrible," Reed declared the negro offers a two-fold opportunity to the spread of communism in this country; first, a strong race and social movement,



and, second, a strong proletarian movement.

#### PROPAGANDA AT WORK.

Race consciousness has steadily increased among the negroes, he said. "a certain section of whom are now carrying on a propaganda in favor of armed revolt against the white," and socialistic ideas are rapidly developing among blacks employed in industrial establishments.

White and negro labor in both the northern and southern parts of the country must be joined in common labor unions, Reed proposed as the quickest way to destroy race prejudice and develop class solidarity. Until recently negroes "were not admitted to membership in the majority of unions which comprise what is known as the American Federation of Labor," he said.

"The communists must not, however, stand aloof from the negro movement for social and political equality, which is developing so rapidly at the present time among the negro masses," Reed told the meeting. "Communists must avail themselves of this movement in order to prove the emptiness of bourgeois equality and the necessity for a social revolution not only to liberate all laborers from slavery but also as being the only effective means of liberating the oppressed negro people."

Describing the status of the negro in America, Reed asserted that despite the constitutional right of the ballot in the southern states negroes were killed if they dared to exercise this right, and that the use of separate schools, hotels and theatres existed in all parts of the country.

"This separation of the negro from the white is called the 'Jim Crow' system, and the clergy of the southern churches teach that there is also heaven where the 'Jim Crow' system is in operation," Reed declared.

bombs. Another part of the plan to arouse all workers to a general revolt against the present capitalistic system of government is said to be seen in the fact that fire arms have been passed out to colored workers in some cases.

The main trouble with the Communist Party is that they are said to be making common cause with the Negroes and taking up the Negro's fight against oppression. According to the party program, oppression of the Negro is at bottom simply as a means to get cheap labor, and thereby keep the working man in chains for the use of capitalists. To beat the capitalists, the Communists are trying to organize colored folk, and unite them with all class conscious workers.

EVENT: 4-10-20

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## Four Negro "Reds" Taken In East Tenn.

Chicago City Hall Janitor Was  
Avowed I. W. W.—Communist  
Party Furnished Negroes

Bomb Making Plans.

Chicago, Ill., Jan. 15.—Unconfirmed reports published here on the authority of the States Attorney indicate that four colored radicals have been taken in the recent raids of the Communist Party. The men arrested are said to be:

Roscoe Sims, janitor of the City Hall and open I. W. W.

Marcus Garvey, head of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Robert Hardeon.

S. A. Davis.

It is pointed out by the District Attorney's office that the Communist Party has given Negroes a bomb making machine and instructed them in the art of making deadly explosive



## Negro and Radicalism.

### THE NEGRO'S OWN RADICALISM.

**T**WENTY years ago all Negroes known to the white publicists of America could be classed as conservatives on all the great questions on which white thinkers differ. In matters of industry, commerce, politics, religion they could be trusted to take the backward view. Only on the question of the Negro's "rights" could a small handful be found bold enough to be tagged as "radicals"—and they were howled down by both the white and colored adherents of the conservative point of view. Today Negroes differ on all these great questions on which white thinkers differ, and there are Negro radicals of every imaginary stripe—agnostics, atheists, I. W.'s, Socialists, Single Taxers, and even Bolsheviks.

In the good old days white people derived their knowledge of what Negroes were doing from those Negroes who were nearest to them, generally their own selected exponents of Negro activity or of their white point of view. A classic illustration of this kind of knowledge was afforded by the Republican party; but the Episcopal Church, the Urban League, or the United States Government would serve as well. Today the white world is vaguely, but disquietingly, aware that Negroes are awake, different and perplexingly uncertain. Yet the white world by which they are surrounded retains its traditional method of interpreting the mass by the Negro nearest to themselves in affiliation or contact. The Socialist party thinks that the "unrest" now apparent in the Negro masses is due to the propaganda which its adherents support, and believes that it will function largely along the lines of Socialist political thought. The great dailies, concerned mainly with their chosen task of being the mental bell-wethers of the mob, scream "Bolshevist propaganda!" and flatter themselves that they have found the true cause; while the government's unreliable agents envisage it as "disloyalty." The truth, as usual, is to be found in the depths; but there they are all prevented from going by mental laziness and that traditional off-handed, easy contempt with which white men in America, from scholars like Lester Ward to scavengers like Stevenson, deign to consider the colored population of twelve millions.

In the first place, the cause of "radicalism" among American Negroes is international. But it is necessary to draw clear distinctions at the outset. The function of the Christian church is international. So is art, war, the family, rum and the exploitation of labor. But none of these is entitled to extend the mantle of its own peculiar "internationalism" to cover the present case of the Negro discontent—although this has been attempted. The international fact to which Negroes in America are now reacting is not the exploitation of laborers by capitalists; but the social, political and economic subjection of colored peoples by white. It is not the Class Line, but the Color Line which is the incorrect but accepted expression for the Dead Line of racial inferiority. This fact is a fact of Negro consciousness as well as a fact of externals. The international Color Line is the practice and theory of that doctrine which holds that the best stocks of Africa, China, Egypt and the West Indies are inferior to the worst stocks of Belgium, England and Italy, and must hold their lives, lands and liberties upon such terms and conditions as the white races may choose to grant them.

On the part of the whites, the motive was originally economic: but

it is no longer purely so. All the available facts go to prove that, whether in the United States or in Africa or China, the economic subjection is without exception keener and more brutal when the exploited are black, brown and yellow than when they are white. And the fact that black, brown and yellow also exploit each other brutally wherever Capitalism has created the economic classes of plutocrat and proletarian should suffice to put purely economic subjection out of court as the prime cause of racial unrest. For the similarity of suffering has produced in all lands where whites rule colored races a certain similarity of sentiment, viz.: a racial revulsion of racial feeling. The peoples of those lands begin to feel and realize that they are so subjected because they are members of races condemned as "inferior" by their Caucasian overlords. The fact presented to their minds is one of race, and in terms of race do they react to it. Put the case to any Negro by way of test, and the answer will make this clear.

The great World War, by virtue of its great advertising campaign for democracy and the promises which were held out to all subject peoples, fertilized the Race Consciousness of the Negro people into the stage of conflict with the dominant white idea of the Color Line. They took democracy at its face value—which is—equality. So did the Hindus, Egyptians and West Indians. This is what the hypocritical advertisers of democracy had not bargained for. The American Negroes, like the other darker peoples, are presenting their cheques and trying to "cash in," and delays in that process, however unavoidable to the paying tellers, are bound to beget a plentiful lack of belief in either their intention or their ability to pay. Hence the run on Democracy's bank—"the Negro unrest" of the newspaper paragraphers.

Undoubtedly some of these newly-awakened Negroes will take to Socialism and Bolshevism. But here again the reason is racial. Since they suffer racially from the world as at present organized by the white race, some of their ablest hold that it is "good play" to encourage and give aid to every subversive movement within that white world which makes for its destruction "as it is." For by its subversion they have much to gain and nothing to lose. Yet they build on their own foundations. Parallel with the dogma of Class-Consciousness they run the dogma of Race-Consciousness. And they dig deeper. For the roots of Class-Consciousness inhere in a temporary economic order; whereas the roots of Race-Consciousness must of necessity survive any and all changes in the economic order. Accepting biology as a fact, their view is the more fundamental. At any rate, it is that view with which the white world will have to deal.—H. H.—(Reprinted by Request.)

[EDITORIAL NOTE: We note with a good deal of interest and much enjoyment that our Socialist party solons have so far been unable to answer the argument (quoted in these columns in our issue of March 27) of the white men of the Socialist Party of America that they themselves officially put Race First rather than Class First. Until they can meet the argument of their own white comrades, the fifty thousand readers of The Negro World will be justified in believing that it is unanswerable—at least by them.—H. H.]

### The Negro and The Reds

*The Daily Herald*  
A great round up of radicals has been made by the government some five or six thousand estimated to have been caught in the government dragnet in 7-1920.

In connection with the government activities in running the "Reds" to cover and securing evidence upon which to convict American citizens of conspiring to overthrow the government and spreading sedition and advocating violence and to deport aliens guilty of those crimes, the Department of Justice announced the following evidence of efforts of "Red" agitators among Negroes as revealed in Communistic documents seized:

"The Communist party is a conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeois state. The Communist party prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes. In close connection with the unskilled workers is the problem of the Negro workers. The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and appression each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem but does not alter its proletarian character. The Communist party will carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all class conscious workers."



It thus appears that thewith those who plan the use Department of Justice has of violence to attain their continued wide awake in itsfreedom.

endeavors to connect Ne- Their refusal to turn groes with the radical move-aside from the path of obed- ment. A few weeks ago-ience to law and order con- some of the bright young-founds their enemies and subordinates in the Depart- blasts the hopes of southern- ment made sweeping charg- politicians and lying news- es of radicalism against Ne- papers that hoped to make- gro publications. Now fol- capital out of their allying- lows documentary evidence themselves with the enemies- that the radicals hoped and of orderly government. planned, no doubt with ap- We most respectfully re- parently sound reasons, to-fer the statistics of arrested- enlist the Negro in their rev- Negro "Reds" to the Hon- olutionary schemes. Mr. Byrnes, Representative- of the white people of South- Carolina.

With five thousand or more "Reds" bagged there is no mention of the arrest of a single Negro. We would, not of course, undergo the slightest surprise if it should be announced that a few Negroes are among the conspirers but it is practically certain that if there are any their number is so small that it is regarded as inconsequential. And this fact is the highest testimonial to the Negro's respect for constituted authority, his obedience to law and his loyalty to his government. There no class nor element of people in the United States who have been more harshly, even cruelly, and unjustly treated than the Negro with the government indifferent and acquiescing in those wrongs. And therefore none who should seem to be more willing to embrace the opportunity to join with those who proclaim themselves friends and sympathizers in an effort to throw off the yoke of semi-slavery.

But they have refused to resort to violence or consort

#### JOHN REED'S PERNICIOUS ADVICE TO SOUTHERN NEGROES AND FOREIGNERS

*The Birmingham Post-Herald*  
"Among America's war correspondents and descriptive writers before the war time was more wholly pleasing, none with greater reportorial powers, none whose writings were more charming than John Reed's. It is not so long ago when John Reed interviewed Pancho Villa, 'the dirty looking greaser whom I found kicking a patient mule in the stomach,' as he described him before the bandit set the border aflame. Nor was it so very long ago when John Reed, a prince of good fellows, followed the European call. Unlike his brilliant contemporary, Charles Edward Russell, Reed embraced Bolshevism for better or for worse. Not only did he become attached to the Lenin-Trotsky administration by appointment to America as soviet representative, but upon his return to Russia after being barred from this country, he became more bitter still again civilization's established institutions. He became obsessed with the idea that established governments should be thrown to the dogs; that anarchy should be given its fling; that the red dogs of revolution should ransack democracies and empires alike.

Some hint of the madness in the man's mind in his latter days comes posthumously from Russia. The Associated Press report of Friday giving excerpts from Reed's address in advocacy of enlisting the colored people of the South under the red flag of communism shows how utterly unbalanced the man was before his life ended. The Associated Press says in part:

"Describing the status of the Negro in America, Reed declared that, despite the constitutional right to the ballot in the Southern States, Negroes were killed if they dared to exercise this right, and that the use of separate schools and theaters existed in all parts of the country.

"This separation of the Negro from the white is called the 'Jim Crow' system, and the clergy of the Southern churches teach that there is also a heaven where the 'Jim Crow' system is in operation, Reed declared."

Both Trotsky and Lenin are reported to have made speeches at the Moscow gathering where this man, in the very flower of physical life but with a mind warped beyond recognition by his former associate, called upon the blacks of the earth to revolt. If Col. McClure had been possessed of this information on Wed-

nesday evening when he declared that the present menace of the earth was not an economic but a racial one, he might have used this as a further argument that the colored races of the world would presently be ranged against the white races. But those wild words, such as the above, which have no foundation in fact, can be of little avail in stirring Southern Negroes religiously to burn and pillage and murder and to range themselves against the Anglo-Saxon peoples. The News writes that down in perfect knowledge that such efforts are being made at this time in the South; that such organizations are distributing incendiary literature calculated to inflame the minds of the colored people. Quite recently there came through the mails a bit of literature calling upon the colored folks to arise and "stop the slaughter of innocent blacks by mobs." The pamphlet carried a photograph of a Negro after he had been riddled with bullets and burned to a crisp. But the thoughtful elements of Negroes—and The News believes that what John Reed calls "race consciousness" among the blacks has been accompanied by reason and understanding—have no mind to turn against the white races. It is to the white races that they owe whatever advancement they have made since their ancestors came from darkest Africa. They are beginning to realize that whatever wrongs they may have suffered will be, and are being now righted, through the tedious processes of evolution. More and more there is a common sense of racial justice stirring American thought. While the mob spirit exists here and there over both North and South alike, and while persecution, alas is at times practiced against both foreigners and Negroes, there is a growing consciousness that only through fair play to the races, through tolerance, and through understanding of racial limitations, America must become more and more a nation where equality of opportunity is practiced.

Hence, such madness as John Reed suggested, can be met, and only met, through the meting out of justice to all peoples, both white and black. The courts, backed by public opinion; officers of the law, staunch in their authority, have it within their power to bring about and to maintain the most cordial relations between the races in this country. To preach hell and brimstone against a superior race simply because of its superiority; to preach a reign of the proletariat, either white or colored, rather than a reign of intelligence and lovingkind discrimination, savors too much of

the madhouse.

And another thing: This man Louis Fraina, secretary of the Communist Party in America, who advocates revolt of the foreign labor in the United States, should be instantly put in a padded cell. That is the sort of crazy fool for whom there is no room in orderly society."

—Birmingham News, Nov. 30, 1920.  
We reprint the above editorial from The Birmingham News that readers of this publication might know the feeling of a group of white people and institutions who lead, and make sentiment for law and order. It is reprinted again for its news value, its forceful opinion and logical conclusion, its fair admissions, its plan of adjustment, its confidence and faith in the stability and good judgment of the American Negro, with a special reference to the Southern Negro.

The opinion rings with the proper tone, its reaches far into the life of society, it is emphatic in its pronouncements and makes plain a safe rule of government. "America must become more and more a nation where equality of opportunity is practiced." Herein lies the hope of the Negro race, this is his constant prayer, this is the one big idea that he wants to see effective and general, this is what he has long sought and mourned because he found it not, he is here to help America in America's struggles; this he has done unstintingly and with a rush in all America's battles. He can be happy, he will be encouraged if America will become more and more a nation where equality of opportunity is practiced.

#### THE MESS WORK, SOCIALIST APPEAL TO NEGROES

About 100 persons, nearly half of whom were white, paid 50 cents each to hear a Socialist lecture Friday night by Chandler Owen, colored, editor of The Messenger, New York radical negro paper. He spoke in the German Baptist church, Sixth and Walnut-sts.

Mr. Owen made a typical Socialist argument, advising the negroes to quit following their old leaders and join the Socialist party, which he called the "party of justice."

"Negroes don't want more work," he said. "What negroes want is less work and more pay. Nobody wants to work who has any sense. Work is painful. We work because it is less painful to work than to go without food and shelter."

Negro leaders, including Booker T. Washington, were denounced as "tools of the capitalists engaged in keeping the negroes in economic inferiority. The church was sneered at as teaching "time-worn superstitions."

The speaker told his hearers to join the Socialist party and "help usher in the new democracy under the red flag of international brotherhood."